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The Bambara
[Les Bambara]

Viviana Paques

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[Title Page]

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[1] CHAPTER 1

DEMOGRAPHY AND TRIBAL AND SUBTRIBAL GROUPS

I. Nomenclature

A. European Definitions

101

Monseigneur Bazin, in his Bambara dictionary of 1906, gave us the etymology of Banmana, "men of the cayman," whereas Mani or Mali would mean "those of the hippopotamus," the two names having a totemic origin.

For Élisée Reclus in 1887 (Nouvelle géographie universelle [New Universal Geography], Vol. XII: L'Afrique occidentale [West Africa]), Bamana means "steep crag."

Delafossé (Haut Sénégal-Niger [Upper Senegal and Niger]) in 1923 makes a distinction between Bambara and Banmana.

The Banmana would commonly be called Bambara by Europeans and the other Sudanese. Bambara is the word used in the Tarikh-es-Soudan [History of Sudan]. The Moslems designate all non-Moslem Sudanese as Bambara. Thus, the Sénoufo [Senufo] are called Bambara by the Dioula of Sikasso; the non-Moslem Malinké are called Bambara by the Dioula of Odienné; similarly for the Gbanian and Dagari of Upper Volta, etc. That is why Delafosse prefers to
[173] name the people of Ségou, Bélédougou, etc., as they name themselves, that is, Banmana, which supposedly means "the refusal of the Master," in allusion to the legend according to which the Banmana left their land of origin (Ouassoulou) at the beginning of the thirteenth century to escape the yoke of the conquering Malinké.

According to Monteil, Bambara comes from the root Ba, "black."

B. Native Definitions

The Bambara often designate themselves by terms which indicate their geographical distribution.

101 Example: Those of Bélédougou are the Bélédugu-ka-u;
Those of Kaarta are the Kaarta-n-ka-u;
Those of Ségou are the Ségu-n-ka-u ...

Each of these expressions has at the same time a political significance. Ségu-n-ka-u means the people of the party in power at Ségou. The context alone determines which people are meant.

[2] Among themselves, the Bambara factions sometimes [552] call each other by nicknames: of the people of Ségou, the people of Kaarta say ironically, "those of Tu-kele-u" (those of the single braid), alluding to their coiffure, or else Nya-ni-nyele-u, "those of Nya and Nyélé" (Nya and Nyélé are women's names common at Ségou). All the members of a clan may also be grouped under a term derived from the name of the founder or ancestor of the clan: the people of Kaarta may call themselves Nya-Ngolo-la (the people of Nya-Ngolo, ancestor of the clan); the people of Ségou may be called Barama-Ngolo-la (the people of Barama-Ngolo, ancestor of the clan).

There are also nicknames for individuals of other tribes. [186] The Bambara are called Dyonko (slaves) by the Soninké, who long exploited the Bambara for the slave trade, while the Bambara in turn call the Soninké the Marka Dialan'u (Marka Seer), because they gave up their own dialect for the Bambara dialect.

II. Situation

A. Ethnic Classification

144 Delafosse has made a broad classification of the peoples inhabiting Upper Senegal and Niger. Unfortunately, this classification too often mixes language and physical traits. Thus, he puts the Bambara in the Mandé family, which is divided into three groups comprised of these main peoples:

First group (northern): three peoples, the Bozo, the Soninké (or Sarakolé or Marka), and the Dioula.

Second group (central): five peoples, the Kagoro, the Banmana (or Bambara, including the Somono caste), the Kassonké (or Mandingue [Mandingo]), and the Foulanké.

144 Third group (southern): four peoples, the Diallonké [Dialonke], the Samo, the Samorho, and the Sia; plus four small tribes of doubtful classification, the Blé, the Natioro, the Ouara, and the Sembla.

More recent studies by Urvoy, Dr. Pales, and Mlle. Tassin de Saint-Péreuse involving very numerous measurements will soon permit determination of the racial characteristics of the Sudanese populations and the establishment of a new classification.

B. Geographical Distribution

131 In his study of the Bambara of Ségou, Charles Monteil tells us that it is impossible to determine what the precise boundaries of the Bambara empire were, because a frontier as we understand it has no meaning for the Black. The empires did not seek to dominate such and such a region; their goal was, above all, the exploitation of the greatest possible number of individuals, without regard to localities or races.

131 At the present time, the Encyclopédie coloniale et maritime
162 [Colonial and Maritime Encyclopedia] considers that [3] the Bambara form a group of about a million individuals who extend west-east from the region of Siguirio as far as Macina along both sides of the Niger and the Bani rivers, and south-north from the Ivory Coast and Upper Volta to Sahel de Nioro. In addition, there are 40,000 in Senegal: peanut farmers near Kaolack, Thiès, and Diourbel, and captives at Fouta Toro, Saint-Louis, etc. But they are most numerous in the circles [a "circle" is an administrative division] of Bamako (310,000), Ségou (190,000), and Bougouni (110,000). To
[563] these one may add 125,000 Métis [mixed bloods], Peul-Bambara, of whom 72,000 live in the Bougouni circle alone.

131 More precisely, the great mass of the Bambara is distributed
619 in a region that may be delimited as follows.

To the northwest, three tribes have been catalogued in the Kaarta: the Dianguirté in the circle of Nioro, the Niamassa at Nioro, and the Massassi to the south of Nioro.

To the north, in the Sahel, the region of Bakounou and Waghadou is inhabited by the Kalongo tribe.

To the northeast, the Bambara live in the Macina, the Issa Ber, the region of Goundam, and up to Timbuktu.

|3| To the east, they are found in the Bendougou, Minianka
619 (the banks of the Niger and the Bani to the south of San and Ségou being occupied by the caste of Somono fishermen), and Kénédougou regions.

To the south, in the Ouassoulou.

To the southwest, in the Manding, the Bélédougou, and Fouladougou regions.

To the west, in the Kangaran, the Bambouk, and the Guidimaka regions on the banks of the Senegal.

In short, the habitat of the Bambara lies within a large V formed by the upper Senegal and the upper Niger.

C. Neighboring Tribes

|0| The Bambara are the most important people of the western Sudan and of the southern circles. Nevertheless, they are very mingled with other populations according to the regions we shall further define.

Among these other populations the principal ones are:

The Peul (Foula [Fulah], Foulbé [Fulbe], Fellata [Felata], a nomadic population found throughout West Africa from Senegal to the Egyptian Sudan. They speak the same language as the Toucouleur [Tukolor] Popular.

The Malinké, an important Mandingue people who speak a dialect close to Banmana and who are found in Guinea and in the Sudan (Satadougou, Nioro, Kayes, Bafoulabé, Kita, Bamako, Bougouni).

The Kassonké, who live in the Senegal Valley upriver from Kayes, are of mixed Malinké and Toucouleur origin; they speak a dialect close to Malinké.

The Sarakolé, Soninké or Marka, are an ancient people linked to the history of the empire of Ghana; they speak a Mandingue dialect related to Bambara. Those of Kouroumari speak Bambara and are of mixed Bambara blood.

[4] In Mourdiah, out of 14,000 Marka, a large proportion is Bambarized.

The Songhaï, a people of the middle Niger, have swarmed from the region of Niamey up to Lake Débo and Djenné.

101 The Senoufo or Minianka, an important people in the circles of San, Koutiala, Bougouni, and Bobo Dioulasso, speak Sénoufo.

The Bobo in the region of San, Bobo-Dioulasso, and Dedougou, speak Bobo but are divided into two large branches according to their dialects: the Black Bobo and the Red Bobo.

The Dogon, remainder of the ancient inhabitants of the Nigerian regions from Bamako to Lake Débo, live for the most part in Bandiagara and Douentza and speak Dogon.

The Mossi live in Ouahigouya, Kaya, Tougan, Fada, and the circles of Ouagadougou, Koudougou, Tenkodogo and Dedougou; their language is Moré.

The Toucouleur, originally from the middle Senegal, are numerous particularly in Senegal and Mauritania; they also live in the region of Kayes and Bafoulabé.

Finally, the Touareg [Tuareg] roam from Goundam to Gouré. Their proportion of white blood is weak; the same thing applies to the Moors, Arabized Berbers who are counted with their former black captives. The tribes of the Niger region are the Almoussakaré, the Attouajiten, and the Eudde; they speak Touareg.

III. Physical Characteristics of the Bambara

142 History and ethnology show us that the Bambara of today is the product of several peoples whose origin is still unknown to us. Yet, common biological characteristics have developed so the Bambara distinguish themselves physically from other peoples, either by color (they say they are less black than the Bozo and the Sarakolé), by the structure of the body and musculature (they are tall, robust, muscled ... very different in that from the "feeble Peuls"), or by the form of the skull, with its receding forehead (that of the Peul is straight, "bulging and bumpy").

Tauxier, in his Histoire des Bambara [History of the Bambara], has given an anthropological description based on the work of the following authors: Quatrefages and Hamy, Crania ethnica [Ethnic Crania], 1882; Dr. Collomb, Bull. de la Soc. d'Anth. de Lyon [Bulletin of the Anthropological Society of Lyon], 1885; Hovelacque, Les Nègres d'Afrique sus-équatoriale [Negroes of Supra-Equatorial Africa], 1889; Dr. Verneau, Les races humaines [Human

142 Races]; Lieutenant Girard, Notes anthropométriques sur quelques Soudanais occidentaux [Anthropometric Notes on Some West Sudanese], 1909; Les races et les peuples de la terre [Races and Peoples of the Earth]; Chantre, Contribution à l'étude des races humaines du Soudan occidental [Contribution to the Study of the Human Races of the Western Sudan], 1918; Dr. Verneau, L'homme, races et coutumes [Man, Races and Customs], 1931.

From this study, a little hasty since the observations were made on very few subjects, we will retain the following features:

Without attaining the ultradolichocephaly of the Malinké,
141 the Bambara is [5] characterized by his dolichocephaly (horizontal cephalic index 75.05; for Deniker 76.4) and his fairly considerable height (1.71 meters for the "aristocrats," a result of interbreeding with the Peul population, and 1.65 meters for the ordinary Bambara). Dr. Pales and Tassin de Saint-Péreuse give us figures which are considerably different and which are particularly interesting because their observations were made on 893 individuals. They give the horizontal cephalic index as 74.3, and the average height as 171.8.

Tauxier concluded in these terms: "It is a good Negro race, crossbred with several superior elements!"

Let us add to his description that the Bambara has a solid
142 build, with no dissymmetry, a platyrrhinian nose, a pronouncedly
[147] ogival skull, a skin whose scars have a keloidian tendency, and an
[164] excellent natural defense against infection, although certain regions
[304] are particularly infested with goiter. They practice cranial deformation very little, differing in that from the Malinké and the Kassonké.

Let us note, finally, that the Bambara have black wooly hair, but that some women have hair with red lights which is considered by
143 the natives as a magnificent trait. We shall not discuss the albinos with white skin and colorless hair, of whom the percentage is small.

R. Koerber, in Étude de la répartition des groupes sanguins chez quelques races d'A.O.F. [Study of the Distribution of Blood Groups in Several Races of French West Africa], out of a total of 1,066 Bambara found 3.9 percent of group AB; 25.7 percent of group A; 27.7 percent of group B, and 42.7 percent of group B, and 42.7 percent of group O. Group O then is dominant, but less frequent than for the Ouolof [Wolof], Malinké, Foula, and Sérère [Serer] races.

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141 Finally, let us point out that according to the observations of
143 Dr. Pales, the cormique index of the Bambara is 50.8. Dr. Pales and J. Linhard have calculated the percentage of sickle cell anemia which is: 108 B, 8 percent.

IV. Demographic Data

A. Distribution of the Population

162 The different censuses of recent years give the following estimates.

Senegal -- 150,000 Mandingue; 711,000 Ouolof; 288,500 Peul; 264,000 Sérère; 202,500 Toucouleur; 132,511 Dioula (most
[166] of the Bambara coming to Senegal are Navétanes [temporary workers]).

Guinea -- Bambara are found in the circles of Kankan, Kouroussa, and Siguiri. They are for the most part Navétanes, the major part of the population consisting of the Foula, the Malinké, the Soussou [Susu], the Kissien, the Guerzé, the Toma, the Baga, the Diallonké.

Mauritania -- 500 Bambara live in the circle of Gorgol, along with 8,500 white Moors, 10,000 Foula, 22,000 Toucouleur, 250 Ouolof, 4,500 Sarakolé; and 1,000 Bambara live in the circle of Guidimaka among 13,000 Moors, 4,500 Foula, 1,000 Toucouleur.
[6] [Chart appears here in the original text.]

[7] Upper Volta -- Some Bambara live in the Ouahigouya circle, mingled with Mossi (a majority), Peul and Rimaïbé, Yarcé [Yarse], Foulcé [Fulse], etc.

Ivory Coast -- The Korhogo circle includes 290,000 Sénoufo, Malinké, and Bambara.

Finally, the census of 1950 in the Sudan shows a total of 798,900 Bambara out of a total population of 3,336,740, divided as indicated in the recapitulatory table on page 6.

We see that the Bambara are grouped in the circles of Ségou, Bamako, and Bougouni, where they form the majority of the population.

We shall give a somewhat more detailed breakdown for these three centers, using the still fragmentary information that has been assembled up to now.

In the Bamako circle the population is divided into ethnic groups in the following manner: [pp. 3-4]

B
M
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Mossi FA28
Wolof MS30

Recapitulatory Table by Circles (General Population), 1950
Established by the Bureau of Political Affairs of the Sudan General Government

[6]

* Races et territoires A. O. F. Africains de statut commun et de statut personnel	Bafoulabé	Bamako	Bandiagara	Bougouni	Gao	Goundam	Issa-Ber Niafunké	Kayes	Kita	Koutiala	Mopti	Nioro	San	Ségou	Sikasso	Timbuktu ~~Tombouctou~~	Total pour le territoire
Bellat						35.026											35.026
Bambara	994	299.074	21.538	110.000			20.765	13.896	3.200	33.536	20.530	20.973	42.424	202.617	9.082	293	798.922
Peul	10.200	8.213	97.001		11.095	12.875	71.258	1.962	200	3.217	33.318	39.831	15.297	77.595		1.822	383.884
Mossi	28	857	4.043		61		135	234		49	27.955		303	4.832		9	38.506
Marka	150	27.746					4.381	29.519	3.000	8.100	26.870	112.776	30.679	21.553	406		265.180
Songhaï		647	9.962		102.712	62.821	1.025			454	6.000		625			26.518	210.764
Malinké	68.753	62.671	2	4.932				11.503	53.530			3.598	52				206.041
Minianka		400	3							125.551	500		29.697	2.843			158.994
Maures		2.958	433		19.266	2.743		3.536		67		9.313				15.502	53.818
Senoufo		300	1	10.000						15				228	117.588		128.132
Touareg		20	19		77.640	17.007	252									58.599	153.537
Samogo		150	4.999												26.218	8	31.375
Foula Bambara		9.600		42.100					21.600	182				2.444	22.673	15	98.614
Bobo		500								11.933	2.570					1	15.004
Bozo		400	22			1.582	4.916				18.006		61.712			83	86.715
Kassonkés	23.800	600						20.297				5.734	474	23.447		9	74.361
Dioula	270	11.050								6.958					29.333		47.611
Toucouleurs		700	1.781					23.574	320		1.500	19.680		84	934		48.573
Kagoro		17.395							5.010			4.492					26.897
Somono	4	5.748						1.762			7.000						14.514
Marka Bambara	13.350	750	8.115	885			4.381							14.787		28	42.296
Diallonke	5.100	100							4.600					5.112		8	14.920
Peuls berberisés													60				60
Ouolofs	76	700	68		3	1	7	1.055	132	4	25	2.139	2	65	23	28	4.328
Ouassoulounké	3.200		2	41.000				8.790				1.675					54.667
Diawara	2.500		274									33.785					36.559
Diawambé	2.520	150							515		3.500	4.143		1.684			12.512
Diakanke																	2.016
Dogon		386	157.966				20.675			30	680		3.779				183.516
Guirganke			42									1.620					1.662
** Divers	726	48.340	2.209	346	11.187	3.820	1.725	889	13.421	569	9.925	1.148		12.527	727	192	107.751
TOTAUX	133.671	499.455	308.480	209.263	221.964	136.875	129.520	117.017	105.328	190.665	158.373	260.907	185.104	369.818	206.984	103.115	3.336.739

* Races and territories French West Africa - Africans of public status and of personal status.

** Others

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	City	Central Subdivision	Koulikoro Subdivision	Kolokani Subdivision	Dioila Subdivision	Kourémalé Subdivision
Bambara	19,000	93,974	56,048	59,930	68,310	812
Peul	1,000	2,074	4,251	500	350	38
Mossi	500		157	200		
Marka	1,000		26,746			
Habbe	250		136			
Songhai	450		197			
Malinké	3,200	32,434	139			26,898
Minianka	400					
Moors	2,600		358			
Sénoufo	300					
Touareg	20					
Samo	150					
Foula-Bambara	600				9,000	
Bozo	400					
Bobo	500					
Kassonké	600					
Dioula	5,200			850	5,000	
Toucouleur	700					
Kagoro	100		3,795	13,500		
Somono	500	804	3,454		300	690
Marka Bambara	150				600	

(continued)

[Bamako circle] [population division of Ethnic groups]

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B W 162

	City	Central Subdivision	Koulikoro Subdivision	Kolokani Subdivision	Dioïla Subdivision	Kourémalé Subdivision
Diallonké	100					
Ouolof	700					
Diawambé	150					
Others	130	5,698	196	610	344	

[Bamako circle]

[population division of ethnic groups]

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[8] The Bougouni circle is divided as follows:

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Cantons	No. of Villages	Population	Observations
Bambeledougou	13	1,785	Bambara
Banimonatie	47	10,829	F. B and Bambara
Bilatouma	5	1,771	Foulah-Bambara
Danou	8	3,413	Bambara
Debelendoudou	11	2,053	—
Dialakadougou	6	1,696	—
Diban	7	2,398	—
Domba	18	2,510	—
Falani-Auola	16	5,086	—
Gouantiedougou	41	9,771	—
Keikero	8	1,705	—
Kokoun	16	3,157	—
Kola	13	2,122	—
Kouroulamini	30	8,653	—
Niene	20	12,525	Senoufo
Siankadougou	16	2,288	Bambara
Sibirila	29	9,652	—
Siondougou	28	3,697	
Tiemala	54	16,492	Foulah-Bambara
Tiendougou	69	16,624	—
Tinkatougou	16	3,342	Bambara
Tyan	16	3,369	—
Yiridougou	13	3,263	—
Zana	8	2,939	—
Yorobadougou			
Niamala	15	2,886	—
Keleyadougou			
Nienendougou		Census in progress	
Nafanandougou			
Fulala			

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Ségou				
Chefferie of Somonos....		28 villages	8,440 hectares	
" " Bolomissé...	2,600km^2		27,550 "	Bambara Markas
" " Dokono...	270 "	98 "	11,083 "	" "
" " M'Pebala .	4,000 "	138 "	27,540 "	Bambara
" " Bibelambés.	500 "	9 "	1,846 "	Peul + some Bambara
" " Koulala....	400 "	18 "	4,545 "	Bambara
" " Sana	400 "	16 "	6,054 "	Markas Bambara
" " the Thiandis Peul	3,200 "	37 "	5,660 "	Peul
" " M Pérédiola .	1,250 "	20 "	5,384 "	Bambara
" " Farako	2,000 "	47 "	14,092 "	Bambara Markas Peul
" " Malaké Markas	100 "	4 "	2,310 "	Markas
" " Sansanding .	400 "	6 "		Bambara
" " Bambougou .	900 "	99 "	33,504 "	Bambara and Peul
" " Bebe	400 "	28 "	4,576 "	Bambara
" " Kalaké Bambara	700 "	13 "	2,911 "	"
" " Dioforongo .	1,200 "	72 "	12,935 "	Peul, Bambara
Nioro				
Chefferie of the canton of Kala	1,900 km^2		5,400 hectares	Bambara
" Markabougou	3,200 "		2,782 "	"
" Sokolo	4,200 "		6,126 "	Bambara Markas
" Miempiéna	1,000 "		3,332 "	Bambara
" Segala	3,200 "		1,773 "	"
" Mossi of the Sahel .			1,254 "	Mossi

[9] B. Population Movement

162 In 1912, Delafosse in Haut-Sénégal et Niger [Upper Senegal and Niger] gave a total of 538,450 Bambara in the following regions: [516]

Bamako . . .	146,966	Bougouni . . .	104,216	Ségou . .	109,758
Sikasso . . .	30,000	Kita	2,339	Bafoulabé	2,100
Koutiala. . .	30,035	Goumbou.. . .	22,110	San . . .	20,103
Sokolo . . .	19,996	Djenné . . .	17,246	Niafunké..	16,000
Nioro . . .	9,355	Mopti . . .	7,277	Bandiagara	928

161 All of these figures are notably lower than current ones. However, one must not infer a population increase too hastily. The difference in population figures result of better census methods rather than of a real increase.

Moreover, current demographic information must be considered as still approximate. In fact, censuses may go on for several years in a single region, and those of certain cantons are not yet finished. A large part of the population still avoids the census in order to escape taxes and military service. In certain villages the clandestine population may be as large as the declared population.

167 A number of the Bambara who leave the country temporarily as migratory workers in Guinea, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, and the Gold Coast escape all registration.

161 Finally, as soon as we leave the purely Bambara region of the
563 Ségou circle to go into the region of Bougouni, for example, a large part of the population counted as Bambara is in fact of mixed origin, Foula, Malinké, but follows Bambara custom, often no longer speaking the language.

563 This simple enumeration shows how rare it is to find a Bambara ethnic bloc which is not heavily mixed with other tribes. This dispersion is doubtless the result of a complicated historical evolution as we shall see further on.

But we can already point out that the link which unites the different peoples is the chefferie. The different peoples under a common chief little by little consider themselves to be of the same people as their chief. Sometimes the chief may have adopted the nationality of the country whose direction he has assumed.

As an indication, we give the following tables, furnished by the Bureau of Political Affairs of the Sudan. It has not yet been possible to evaluate the rates of births and deaths nor to establish

[text continues on p. 13]

19

3; Peques--12 S-4 (no date) 1954 FA8 Bambara FA8

I. Demographic Situation of the Population of African Status

Circle	Area in Sq. Km.	On 12/31/49	On 12/31/50	Density per Sq. Km.	Comparison between 1949 and 1950	
					Plus	Minus
Bafoulabé	39,000	131,603	137,347	3.54	5,744	
Bamako	57,405	451,377	499,034	7.96	47,657	
Bandiagara	53,000	307,936	307,946	5.81	8	
Bougouni	34,000	202,907	208,984	6.14	6,077	
Gao	411,170	215,875	221,883	0.53	6,008	
Goundam	55,000	134,312	130,935	2.48	2,623	
Kayes	21,000	119,294	117,017	5.57		2,277
Kita	37,000	103,132	105,550	2.85	3,418	
Koutiala	20,665	187,706	190,645	9.22	2,939	
Mopti	14,300	156,116	156,194	10.92	78	
Niafunké	22,500	129,463	129,558	5.76	95	
Nioro	56,000	256,149	260,413	4.5	4,164	
San	15,000	182,142	185,187	12.34	3,045	
Ségou	52,000	362,215	369,921	7.11	7,706	
Sikasso	20,475	206,828	207,038	10.11	210	
Timbuktu	283,700	90,981	102,475	0.36	11,494	
Totals	1,192,215	3,237,705	3,337,127	2.79	101,266	2,277

Plus: 98,989

B T 161

II. Demographic Situation of the Nomadic Population [in the Sudan]

	Moors		Touareg	
1940:	Gao 9,494		57,945	
	Goundam 2,885	23,322	40,757	139,236
	Timbuktu . . . 10,943		40,934	
1944:	Gao 18,812		74,357	
	Goundam 2,505	34,073	16,105	128,057
	Timbuktu . . . 12,756		37,595	
1959:	Gao 19,078		77,640	
	Goundam 2,743	37,723	17,004	153,246
	Timbuktu . . . 15,502		58,599	

B 161

III. General Movement of the Population in the Past Ten Years

	Sedentary and Semi-nomadic	Nomadic
1940	2,750,950	163,000
1941	2,790,000	
1942	2,840,000	
1943	2,870,000	162,000
1944	2,900,000	
1945	2,800,000	
1946	2,810,000	
1947	2,840,000	
1948	3,125,000	
1949	3,237,000	
1950	3,337,000	190,000
Total increase .	586,000	27,000
Rate of increase .	21%	16%

An age profile of the population. The censuses of future years will no doubt permit a better study of the country's demography.

[11] IV. General Movement of the Urban Population

161 The urban population numbers 220,317, or 6.5 percent of the
162 total population.

The principal urban centers are: Bamako, Kayes, Ségou, Mopti, Sikasso, and Gao. Except for Gao, the growth is considerable.

Cities	1939	1950	Increase	Percent of Increase
Bamako	32,761	85,000	52,239	162.5
Kayes	15,894	23,275	7,381	46.4
Ségou	8,391	15,335	6,944	83
Mopti	6,379	9,208	2,829	45
Sikasso	11,817	19,558	7,741	15.2
Gao	6,923	7,231	308	4.90

C. Emigration

167 It is rarely definitive. It is undertaken either for commercial reasons or from the desire of the young to earn enough to pay the bride price of their fiancée. It affects chiefly the circles of Gao, Timbuktu, Niafunké, Goundam, Mopti, Ségou, and Bamako. The region most often visited is the Gold Coast.

At Timbuktu, there is caravan traffic with Morocco by way of Taouedi and Tindouf, and with the Touat.

At Bandiagara, certain cantons (Dinangourou, Ibi, Iréli) experience a traditional temporary emigration to Upper Volta where the young go to work a year or two and then return.

At Bafoulabé, the emigration movement towards French Guinea remains very weak, about 20 persons.

At Bougouni, about 1,500 young people annually leave for the Ivory Coast, following the example of the Dioula. This is a seasonal movement, but the youths often prolong the venture year after year before going home, and some of them ultimately settle on the Ivory Coast.

At Nioro, from Bakounou northwards (circle of Aioun and Atrouss [Aioun el Atrous?], there is an agricultural nomadism to new lands. This migration from one settlement to another is concerned only with the fertility of the soil, without regard for the border at Nioro and Yélimané. One also notes temporary emigrations towards

167 Senegal (five to ten years) and seasonal emigrations of commercial character in the dry season, following the crops, from Nioro and Yélimané toward the Ivory Coast, Senegal, and Guinea.

At San, a large number of emigrants leave for the Ivory Coast where they go to work for several years on the plantations; they return home with their savings.

At Ségou, movement is not noticeable. A few departures for the [12] Ivory Coast are recorded in the subdivision of Macina (settlers of the Niger Office) ; 879 departures.

At Sikasso, numerous youths from 18 to 30 years old emigrate from October to May to Bobo-Dioulasso and the Ivory Coast. Almost all return in May when the fields are prepared for cultivation, but some finally settle abroad permanently, mainly in the lower Ivory Coast. This movement is increasing because of high salaries.

D. Immigration

Immigration has a sporadic and seasonal character (gold prospectors from Guinea, fishermen from Niger, cattle breeders from Mauritania). The only regular immigration is that of the colonists of the Niger Office.

At Bafoulabé, one notes the temporary presence of 10,000 gold washers from Guinea and the Ivory Coast; 75 farmers from Senegal and Guinea have settled permanently.

At Bamako, Guinean gold washers come in the dry season to work at the placers of the subdivision of Kangaba. They go home at the beginning of winter.

At Gao, when the Niger's water level begins to fall, Haoussa [Hausa] and Bozo fishermen install themselves on the banks. They leave in August, loaded with dried or smoked fish.

From the interior, Kounba, driven by the drought, look for pastures at water holes (leading to friction with the original occupants).

Kayes is an area of nomadism for the Moors of Kiffa and Sélibaby.

At Mopti, a large number of foreigners from the Upper Volta are found in the cities. They return to their country in the rainy season.

167 At Nioro, during eight months of the year, live most of the Moors who go up to Mauritania at the beginning of the rains.

At Ségou, the colonists of the Niger Office are concentrated. In 1951 1,166 arrived, 660 coming from Nioro and 506 from Macina.

Temporary Workers

Circles of Origin	Temporary Workers Leaving in Official Convoys in:			
	1947	1948	1949	1950
Bafoulabé	1,017	1,008	969	492
Bamako	6,626	4,376	4,046	8,678
Bougouni	405	776	3,000	36
Kayes	1,794	2,195	3,230	1,368
Kita	1,419	1,559	1,352	226
Nioro	2,744	747	3,000	1,504
				135
Totals	14,005	10,661	15,602	12,439

[13] Individual migrations are very numerous, and the real number of temporary workers is much higher than the official figure. Currently, one notes a drop due to two causes:

1. The discontent of the workers after the 1949 season. In 1948, they had brought home from 15,000 to 20,000 francs; in 1949 from 5,000 to 10,000, and as little as 1,500 to 2,000 francs for the Siné Saloum. Some were repatriated at the expense of their families, others preferred to stay in the Senegal to avoid reproaches. The reasons for the setback may be laid to a bad distribution of rainfall and to insufficient lodgings due to the unexpected arrival of too many workers.

[209] 2. The counter-propaganda of the elders, who want to keep the young workers in the Sudan.

CHAPTER 2

LINGUISTIC DATA

A. Linguistic Classification

197 According to the classification by Delafosse (1), Bambara or

1. Delafosse, Langues du Soudan [Languages of the Sudan] (Meillet and Cohen, Les Langues du monde [Languages of the World]).

Banmana is a dialect of the Mandé or Mandingue language, which in turn belongs to the central subgroup of the Nigerian-Senegalese languages. It is, then, very close to the Dioula, Kassonké, dialects, which belong to the same Mandé language and which are spoken by peoples with whom the Bambara cohabit geographically. (The differences with the Soso, the Soninké, and above all the Peul are much more marked).

Among the Nigerian-Senegalese languages, Mandé is distin-
193 guished chiefly by four traits:
197 1. The nominal forms have almost completely disappeared.

2. Noun and verb are distinguished only by their respective places in the sentence.

3. Conjugation includes a large number of verbal aspects.

4. The subject, noun or pronoun, precedes the verb.

The disappearance of the nominal forms marks an important evolution in comparison with the archaic language, in which they are, on the contrary, of pronounced importance. Of all the Mandé dialects, Bambara appears to be the most advanced. It is characterized particularly by its extreme conciseness and by the deformation words undergo through excessive contraction.

B. Morphology

193 Bambara makes no differentiation by inflexions: nothing indicates whether a word is subject or object, whether a verb is present or past, active or passive. The words are absolutely invariable and

193 are combined only by juxtaposition. To distinguish nuances of thought, the role of the word in the sentence, one has only the context and auxiliary particles to go by.

The distinction between the sexes is marked only by adding the words "male" or "female" to the root. The plural is formed by adding [15] to the substantive the suffix "w" and the necessary figure or the adverb "many."

Person, tense, and mood of the verbs are distinguished in like manner. The root remains invariable, and one expresses the accessory idea of person by personal pronouns, and the ideas of tense and mood with the aid of particles placed before or after the verbal root. The neutral or passive voice has but one special tense: the past, while the active voice includes three tenses, or more exactly, three aspects.

The first indicates that an action is not completed (this can be, then, a present or a future).

The second implies that the action is completed or that a state has been reached or still exists (this is approximately a past tense).

The third refers to an action which is to be completed in the present, past, or future under the influence of another action or another subject (this may render our subjunctive, our imperative, our optative, and, in general, the infinitive complement of a verb).

C. Syntax

Bambara is extremely simple. Whether the clause be relative, interrogative, or conditional, the word order is not changed. This uniformity, this monotony of style, does not preclude eloquence, but it lies all in the action, the gesture, the tone of voice, the repeated use of onomatopoeia and of particles like "dé," "kwo," "ké."

D. Vocabulary

192 This poverty of syntax is not accompanied by a poverty of vocabulary nor by an impossibility to express abstractions. The Bambara express very easily, and in a manner intelligible to all, ideas of belief, of hope, of ethics, of religion. The most striking characteristic of their vocabulary is the constant comparison of man

192 with nature; the same terms designate the parts of animals, plants, or even objects. These words serve as roots, as do the names of the four elements and of their properties. Two consequences follow:

1. A great ease in forming compound words; 2. The existence
[194] of a multiplicity of homonyms which we can distinguish only by the context, but which the natives distinguish by differences in tone or in vowel length.

E. Numeration

802 In contrast to the Ouolof and Peul, who first count to five and then say "five and one," "five and two," etc., the Bambara have a different name for each number from one to ten (the word "five," doulou, [16] comes from "hand"; the word "ten", tan, from "to thank," to give both hands). After ten, they count "ten and one," "ten and two," up to 20, which is said as two tens, then three tens, four tens, etc., up to 80. The series begins again after 80 as it does in French after 100.

The Bambara have graphic signs to represent numbers. These
212 signs have been studied by S. de Ganay (1).

1. S. de Ganay, "Graphie Bambara des nombres" [Bambara Number Writing]. [Ed., Journal de la Société de Africanistes, No. 2, 1950.]

[184] The graphic system varies with regions and sometimes from one village to another, but the most widespread method uses a series of vertical lines, each line representing a unit. To indicate that the number is doubled, the lines are placed inside a circle or crossed by a horizontal bar: |||| or ⦶ or ╫ = four. To indicate an uneven number, a line is added under the horizontal bar.

But a line may indicate not only a unit, but a group of ten, and even a "hundred," keme (whose value is 80). To keep this clear, an arc is put over the line: ⌒ = 80.

212 Some systems represent ten by ten lines or by five barred
801 lines under a single line. This method has a religious origin; it recalls that "creation is the issue of a unique principle symbolized

212 by numbers, and notably by ten, which may be obtained, among
801 other ways and if it's a question of representing the Creator, by adding the first four numbers, or by adding the number five to
[776] itself." Ten is the numerical symbol of Faro (god of water); it symbolizes what is just, true, perfect, and complete.

The symbolism of numbers is used in divination: a first
[787] group of eight signs, called the secret count, reproduces the seven first numbers which, according to a Bambara myth, were engraved in space at the instant that the Creator by his word formed the universe. They contain the whole universe.

These numerical signs were ritually traced on the most varied occasions.

[802] Finally, we must note the existence of the sign for "nothing," fu gundo, zero, which stands at the beginning of a series of 196 numerical signs used by those who practice arithomancy.

The word Mandé, of central significance for 44 peoples, may be interpreted, according to some, as manin (the secret name for ten), number of unity and of the cultural community.

F. Writing

212 For everyday use, the Bambara have adopted arabic characters, called by them "writing of the Blacks." In fact, only those who have studied in the Marabouts' schools know how to read or write them. No written literature, properly speaking, exists. A
538 large store of traditions, epics, tales, legends, songs, and proverbs is transmitted orally from generation to [17] generation by professional storytellers, the griot. Moreover, the whole sum of sci-
867 entific, juridical, ethical, and practical knowledge is taught orally
868 in the course of daily life or during long years of initiation. Certain old masters renowned for their learning are consulted from far distances when a chief is in doubt on a point of tradition.

212 Nevertheless, signs do exist for a secret writing that the priests, the heads of families, or blacksmiths draw on the sanctuaries, on masks, furniture, clothing, cabin walls, or in the sand.

212 For the Bambara, things exist by signs. These signs have at-
812 tached themselves to things, calling them to consciousness and to the attention of man.

212 From the central core of creation four categories of signs have
812 emerged, 266 in all, which represent the complete signs of the world; they give color, form, and matter to things. In time these 266 signs came to head lists of an infinity of other signs encompassing all of creation.

"It is by these signs that man enters into possession of the greatest part of his domain, which is the universe. And in the measure that he does not know a sign, that he cannot analyze it, that is, possess it in its component parts, he finds certain sectors of the total knowledge of things closed to him." (1)

1. M. Griaule and G. Dieterlen, Signes graphiques soudanais [Sudanese Graphic Signs].

815 The Bambara, like the Dogon, represent the movement of the stars graphically as well as mathematically, and, in particular, the revolution of the sun around the earth, center of the cosmos. These movements are measured by a cylindrical granary that they use as gnomon (wati dyati dyiginye); it is a round structure of seko [plaited walling?] with a conical roof, constructed according to precise measurements. It rests on a small packed mound in the form of a square which has first been carefully measured and oriented. Twenty-two stones are buried in each angle of the square, and 22 more in the center. Three rows of four big stones are oriented east-west on the little hill: one row on the southern side, one to the north, and one in the middle. Small wooden beams are laid on these rows. Each part and each measurement has a symbolic meaning. The gnomon serves to determine the dates of the solstices and the equinoxes by the observation of its shadow on the ground. (2)

2. D. Zahan, "Un gnomon soudanais" [A Sudanese Gnomon], Africa, 1950.

805 The diurnal and annual movements of the sun are represented
815 by a zigzag line, . Certain variations in the form of the zigzag represent the procession of the equinoxes and the variable length of the days in summer and winter, . Four angles represent the four cardinal points, and each of the lines that make up

805 the angles represents 90 days (the year, for the Bambara, is 360 days).
815 The symbols are not merely mathematical; they form part of the daily life of the society. [18] The zigzags are a characteristic theme
[531] in the decoration of pottery, weapons, tools, sanctuaries, and houses. One finds them in agricultural techniques and in ritual dance figures. The universal rhythms of the earth and sky echo through all the activities of man and society. (1) Finally, another series of 16 signs

212
[787]

1. Id., "Conception de l'écliptique chez les Dogons et les Bambara" [The Dogon and Bambara Conception of the Ecliptic]. [Ed., Africa, 1951.]

is habitually used in geomancy. It is interesting to note that these signs were used in a practical manner for correspondence. The Bambara chiefs used multiple combinations of them to send each other messages.

G. Local Diversities

197 Given the extent and the diversity of the regions where Bambara is spoken, it is no wonder one notices differences in pronunciation, and even in structure and vocabulary, from one province to another. At Kaarta the speech is not the same as at Ségou, and a Bambara of Ségou has trouble understanding a Bambara of Bougouni. This is due partly to the influence of other languages which are in contact with Bambara and which ultimately alter and modify it, and partly to the normal evolution of language within a group separated for centuries from its place of origin. It is interesting to note that in the Bougouni circle the conservatives in speech are the old men, while the women are the evolutionary element.

191 Traditionally, Ségou was considered the center for the most elegant Bambara speech. Before the conquest, children were sent to Ségou to learn the purest Bambara.

[19] CHAPTER 3

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

I. Natural Regions

131 The Bambara live in a region stretching between the 11th and 14th degrees of latitude north and between the 7th and 11th degrees of longitude west. They are grouped around the upper Senegal and upper Niger in the zone of basins bordered on the south by the Fouta-Djallon and the Guinea Ridge. The land is divided into several natural regions.

A. The Upper Niger

133 135 Framed by the outer ranges of the Fouta-Djallon and the cliffs of the Manding plateau, witness of the Pre-Cambrian shelf, the region is essentially schistose, with small veins of quartz and chimneys of dolerite; there are large intrusions of granite to the north 50 kilometers from Bamako, to the northwest and north of Siguiri, and to the south at the approach to the massif of the Fouta-Djallon. All the region is rich in gold. Several centers have long been exploited [316] by the natives by means of a network of narrow shafts which reach down to the auriferous seam. The whole region is encrusted with a shell of iron.

133 The region of the upper Niger is an immense plain covered with mammilliform hills. The plain rises gradually from the pass of Bamako to the mountains of the south, broken only by occasional dikes, such as that of Kouroussa-Kankan. The overall relief is very simple and monotonous; the local relief is very animated and varied because of the network of valleys hemmed in by steep cliffs 10 to 12 meters high.

The Niger, fed by the Tinkisso, the Milo, the Fié and, the Sankarani, reaches Bamako with a width of about 900 meters. It flows through a plain three to four kilometers wide in a southwest-northeast direction up to Timbuktu. It undergoes an annual rise which depends solely on the amount of rainfall. From Kouroussa to 132 Bamako the first rains at the end of April, and then of May and June, begin to feed the river; the flood period begins in June. At the time

132 of high water, part of the narrow plains bordering the river are inundated.

133 At the pass of Bamako the cliffs on the left bank are close to the river and hem in the city. The pass is marked by the appearance of rapids (Sotuba, Kénié), for the river meets for the first time the [20] sandstone it cuts through. The water is highest at Bamako around September 22 and begins to subside towards October 15. It is lowest around April and May.

137 The vegetation is quite unvaried. Species of great forest trees are found in the ravines of the mountains to the south; the small Sudanese forest covers the whole Niger region up to Bamako where the layer of laterite is thin. It is a forest of deciduous trees; the trees shed their leaves, and flower in the middle of the dry season while they are still bare; then the leaves appear before the return of rainy season which marks the awakening of the herbaceous plants. Let us note particularly the karite [shea] tree (Butyrospermum Parkii) which is the most widespread and characteristic of the Sudan; the néré (Parkia biglobosa); the téli (Erythrophloeum guineense); the lingué (Afzelia africana); the caïlcedrat (Khaya senegalensis), as well as enormous gramineous plants of the Andropogon family which are more abundant in the humid depressions than on the plateaus.

[134] However, large areas covered with a layer of laterite are bare except for some scanty gramineous plants: this is the "bowal." These immense iron flats, barren of humanity, make excellent hunting

136 grounds. Buffaloes, panthers, Derby's elans, various kinds of monkeys, elephants, antelopes, lions, wart hogs, hippopotamuses, and crocodiles live there. The glossine (tsetse fly) abounds in the same region.

Between these immense, desolate bowals grow rice, millet,

24 and fonio (Digitaria exilis), the most wretched of the world's cereals and the most important for ritual purposes.

133 In the valleys, outside of the beds of laterite gravel, one finds the small forest or cultivation in newly cleared places and prairies are found in the sections that are annually inundated.

B. The Ségou Basin

This is a plain framed by the sandstone of the Manding and Dogon plateaus, by the Goundam range and the range south of the Dehar near Bassi Kounou.

133 In the south the basin is formed by mammilliform laterite hills (tertiary fluvial deposits). Upriver from Bamako, as well as for about 50 kilometers downriver, one finds sandstone which has been covered in the center by quaternary clayey deposits of fluvial origin coming from the schist, granite, sandstone, and dolerite of the upper basin. Finally, to the northwest the basin is covered with sands (sand dunes of Ouagadou [Waghadou?]) of aeolian origin.

The western part is dry and broken only by chains of wooded swamps, former branches of the river, which are scarcely enlivened by a few beds of sand or by the ferruginous ripples of Boulel. Monotonous, deserted, and sinister, it stretches up to the blond barrier dunes of the north.

The eastern part is traversed by the Niger and the Bani. It contrasts with the west; "it is flat and bare, but the river's waters give it immense stretches of flood plain of [21] intense green." To the south, these marshes form a narrow and discontinuous band; they spread out more and more toward the north, and after the confluence of the two rivers they cover the whole region up to Bara.

The inundation lasts for several months. In fact, from Koulikoro to Lake Débo the Niger flows between two banks one to two kilometers apart, seven to eight meters high. Held back by the dam at Sotuba, the flood is felt a little later at Koulikoro. At Diafarabé, the water begins to rise in June, attaining its maximum height in the beginning of October and falling rapidly at the end of October. It is lowest in April and May. During high water (August to the beginning of January) the low plains are entirely submerged to a width of 150 kilometers.

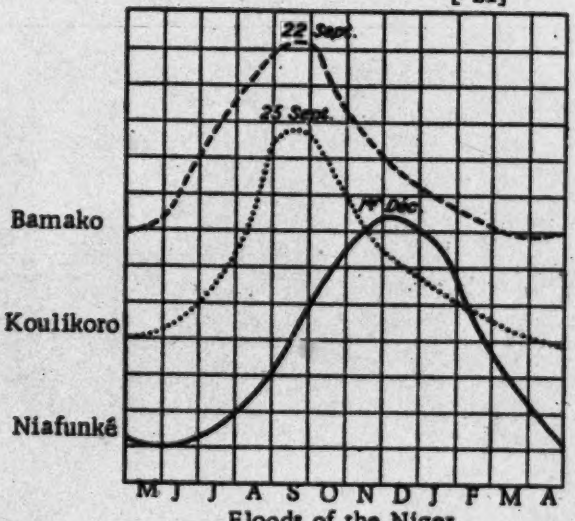
C. Issa Ber

The region formed by the central delta of the Niger is a network, beginning at Diafarabé, of small channels, lakes, swampy lowlands, and streams. The important lands begin at the large double basin of Lake Débo and Lake Korienzé and spread out to the right and left of the river up to Timbuktu. This delta is traversed by three principal channels: the Issa Ber, the Bara Issa and the Koli-Koli. During low water the adjacent lowlands dry up in places and form chains of [chart appears here in the original text] [22] stagnant swamps which evaporation empties little by little. The level of lakes cut off

133

The curves show the average relation of the flood to the lowest level of the water. For each observation post the 1909 level was taken as zero for the low-water reference.

The side of each square represents one meter of water rise. Example: at the end of September at Bamako, the average flood level of the Niger is five meters.



Floods of the Niger

133 from the river goes down and uncovers land excellent for cultivation.

From Débo-Korienzé the water rises at the beginning of July, reaches its maximum level at the beginning of November and drops rapidly in mid-December to reach its lowest level in June.

D. The Manding Plateau

Lying between the valley of the Falémé to the west, the upper Niger to the south, Bamako to the east, and the Baoulé-Senegal furrow to the north, the plateau offers a fine geological unity; it is the region of Cambrian sandstone.

The plateau is surrounded by a crowded network of valleys, affluents to the Senegal, particularly the valley of the Bakoy which is fed by the Baoulé and the Bafing. The streams cut between large cliffs 100 to 200 meters high, bordering wide ravines which are wooded or periodically cultivated and which separate tabular hills bearing laterite in the south. On these heights, where a thin layer of clayey soil is spread, clings a scanty brush of baobab, acacia, and tamarind trees.

In the eastern half, at the middle Baoulé, the rock is progressively buried beneath clay and sand, then the Baoulé makes an elbow bend in a very wide valley marked by small discontinuous sandstone cliffs.

E. The Sarakollé Massif

This is a long outcropping of schist 400 kilometers long and from 150 to 200 kilometers wide. The eastern part is covered with sand, which further softens the modelling of erosion; only on the northern slope do fragments of bare schist appear. The western part presents a very different aspect; due to a covering of dolerite, it has a tabular look, and the sand disappears. It presents fine cliffs, and the valleys are veritable canyons. The schists and dolerites support a very thin vegetation whereas a very dense one flourishes in the valleys thanks to soils from decomposed dolerite and to the abundance of water.

The Bafing and the Bakoy are in fact formed by a series of basins, some of which are quite deep and separated by bars of schist

133 or sandstone. Some of these bars result in handsome waterfalls. Between Bafoulabé and Kayes, the Senegal has two important waterfalls: those of Gouina and Félou. The Senegal flows between banks 300 to 800 meters apart, forming a channel from 10 to 12 meters deep; it is subject to periodic floods depending on the rainfall.

Two kilometers downstream from Kayes the river is joined at the right by the Kolombiné, which, north of Nioro, forms the Korkodio marsh, a veritable lake in the rainy season.

Near Nioro, the Sarakollé Massif joins the valley of the southern Hodh in hilly outcroppings; to the east of Nioro, one again finds fragments of sandstone and of white marble.

137 This region is characteristic of the Sahel savanna. The karite tree disappears in favor of shrubs: doum palms (Hyphaene thebaica), and cram-cram (Cenchrus catharticus). The climate being [23] [chart appears here in the original text] drier, the brush becomes thorny, but one still finds the baobab, numerous Combretaceae, and the precious Palmyra palm.

II. Climate and Meteorology

132 This region belongs to the zones of Sudanese and Sahelian climate. Its climate may be characterized thus:

A single rainy season, in summer;

Annual precipitation from 2,000 to 250 millimeters, decreasing from south to north;

Maximum precipitation in August.

A. Temperatures

The temperatures offer:

- a maximum corresponding to the passage of the sun to its zenith (March to May) with an absolute maximum of $> 40^{\circ}$;
- a secondary maximum corresponding to the end of the rainy season;
- a minimum corresponding to the maximum remoteness of the sun (December-January) with an absolute minimum of $< 15^{\circ}$;
- a secondary minimum corresponding to the maximum precipitations.

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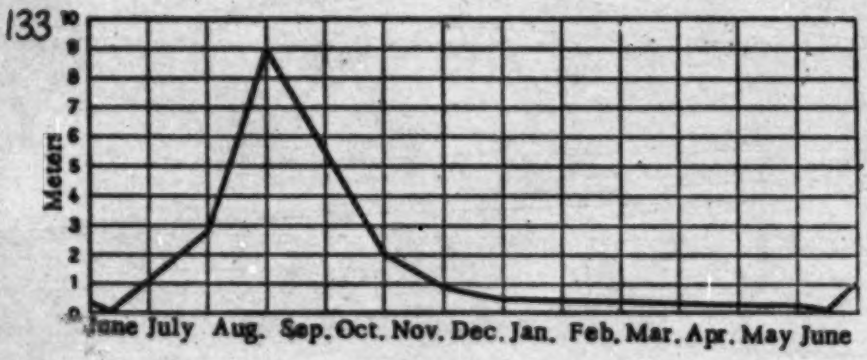

Typical Average Rise of Water at Kayes

132 The vapor pressure follows fairly closely the rainfall curve and has a maximum of ≥ 25 millibars in August (1).

1. This information was furnished to us by M. de Lorme of the Meteorological Service of Bamako.

The year is divided into two seasons, the dry season and the rainy season or "winter."

[24] B. Winds

The different types of weather are determined by the succession of different and quite distinctive air currents. Practically speaking, only two air currents are of interest in the region: the harmattan and the monsoon.

The harmattan -- This is a wind which circulates on the southern face of the continental African anticyclone. It blows generally from the east, and its rate is slow. It is a dry wind (vapor pressure about 10 millibars, which may drop below 5 millibars).

The southwest monsoon -- The air which circulated around the Saint Helena anticyclone is deflected as it crosses the equator and circulates around its Saharan thermic depression.

This wind blows from a general southwesterly direction, is very slow and very humid (vapor pressure about 25 millibars). The depth of the monsoon varies between 1,000 and 2,500 meters in general. It is surmounted by the harmattan, under which it thrusts itself like a wedge.

The zone where these two currents meet forms the intertropical front (F.I.T.), axis of the Saharan depression. This F.I.T. is clearly oriented east-west and follows slightly behind the movements of the sun. It oscillates between 6° north (January) and 21° north (July), climbing from January to July and dropping back afterwards. The progress of the F.I.T. takes place by jumps because the monsoon establishes itself in successive waves.

The regions to the north of the F.I.T., where the harmattan prevails, are in the dry season.

The regions to the south of the F.I.T., where the monsoon prevails, are in the rainy season.

132 This explains why the rainy season is progressively shorter as one goes north.

C. Rainy Season

At ground level the southwest monsoon prevails.

This is a wind from a general southwesterly direction, of very little speed, which drops more and more as one goes north. It is very humid and its vapor pressure is about 25 millibars.

Upon contact with the ground it is heated and rises, giving birth to vertical clouds from which may fall rather heavy showers, stormy or not, but localized, with calm or with moderate winds at ground level. The clouds undergo a great variation during the day and are developed to their maximum at the end of the day. The showers are generally confined to the end of the afternoon and the beginning of the night.

The normal height of the monsoon varies between 1,000 and 2,500 meters. It is surmounted by the harmattan.

The harmattan does not reach the ground except after "squalls." Its direction [25] is from the east, and its speed is then very great; its temperature and vapor pressure are lower than those of the monsoon, although it is generally at the saturation point.

Monsoon rains -- When currents meet within the monsoon, compact cloud masses several kilometers high may form, from which fall abundant and generalized precipitations called "monsoon rains." These cloud masses are virtually stationary; a fine, continuous rain falls from them, and the rare rifts in the clouds generally occur at sunset. These rains may be accompanied by sporadic storm phenomena. This type of weather lasts on the average from several days to about ten days, and the cloud system is reabsorbed in place when it is no longer sufficiently fed.

In the south these rains occur several times during the season, while in the north they are practically unknown.

Squalls -- They are commonly called "tornadoes." They occur when the monsoon at ground level becomes lighter than the east wind which is normally found above it.

132 Process of formation -- The surface of separation between monsoon and harmattan being practically horizontal, there forms there for some reason (generally, the thermic rise of the monsoon in contact with the overheated ground) a wave which is amplified more and more. The monsoon in rising cools and produces a vertical cloud formation. At the same time, the horizontal speed of the monsoon being slow and the harmattan rapid, the wave and the cloud have a tendency to move westwards. A hollow then forms in front of the wave of the monsoon, and the base of the harmattan drops towards the ground.

In the mature stage, in front of the rising column, a whirlwind is formed with a horizontal axis which rotates without touching the ground; thus, the impression of calm one has before the arrival of a squall. This whirlwind carries low, black clouds which yield no precipitation, but which move very rapidly in the form of a roll or cylinder.

Then comes a whirlwind of the opposite rotation, to which the spread and the speed of the whirlwind are added, hence, a violent gust of wind (the speed may attain 100 kilometers per hour) from a general easterly direction. The rain follows almost immediately. It falls in the form of a very violent downpour (the instantaneous intensity of the precipitation may exceed a millimeter per minute) and may last as long as an hour. It is accompanied by considerable storm phenomena and sometimes by hail.

Then, during two to three hours, generally, a fine, continuous rain falls, coming from rather high stratiform clouds.

The mass moves westwards with the average speed of the upper east wind (50 kilometers per hour generally).

Finally, when the stratum of the anterior monsoon offers an obstacle of sufficient resistance, the squall must rise above it; it rapidly loses its intensity and dies out if it is not regenerated by favorable conditions (thermic rise).

[26] The squalls range themselves generally in a north-south direction, forming a "squall line," a veritable cloud barrier which may mount up to 15 kilometers altitude. Some of these squall lines may be 1,000 kilometers long and extend from Timbuktu to Abidjan; they may cover 3,000 kilometers and cross all of French West Africa, but most have a far more modest extent and range.

132 After the passage of a strong "squall line," there is generally a break in the weather for two or three days without rain or storms, but several small squall lines may succeed each other during a day. At the height of the season there is an average of about ten squalls a month. They are responsible for the most violent storms, rains, and winds.

The squalls undergo a rather pronounced diurnal variation, and their intensity is at its maximum at the end of the afternoon and at the beginning of the night.

D. Dry Season

At ground level the harmattan prevails. This is a wind of a general east to northeast direction; its speed is feeble but undergoes a marked diurnal variation, for it is subject to considerable thermic differences. At night there is almost absolute calm, then the east wind sets in. At first it blows regularly, then, during the hot hours, in widely scattered "gusts" following the thermic rises that are produced from contact with the overheated ground, then it dies little by little at night. The vapor pressure is about 10 millibars and may drop to less than 5 millibars.

There is a great diumal increase in temperature, with the maxima capable of passing 45°.

The low humidity does not permit condensation of large clouds, and the only clouds to be found are high ones.

The high temperatures cause a very considerable thermic instability over the sand and produce effects of "hot air wavering" and of "mirage." Visibility is sometimes substantially reduced by particles of sand suspended in the air, forming what is called the "dry fog." The fogs are generally born in the north and are carried afar by the wind.

Winter rains -- Air coming from high latitudes sometimes descends as far as French West Africa, notably in January and February. Rather elevated clouds are then formed, and the sky remains overcast for two or three days. Light rains may fall, which generally do not reach the ground, notably in the northern regions. The clouds also may lead to feeble high-altitude storms.

This phenomenon generally occurs two or three times a season.

[27] CHAPTER 4

PRINCIPAL ECONOMIC TRAITS

I. Agriculture

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Among the Bambara "farming remains extensive [as opposed to 'intensive'] . It has not, generally speaking, passed the quasi-primitive stage where a man's labor, without the aid of modern techniques, produces little and, usually, badly. The climate is hard in the tropics, making physical effort taxing, and the naturally rich areas are rare and scattered. Finally, industrialization is only just beginning in West Africa, and in that field, as in the related one of producing hydro-electric power -- of capital importance in a country where all coal must be imported -- the stage of the schoolroom has hardly been passed." (1)

1. Georges Spitz, Sansanding.

A. Methods of Cultivation

We may distinguish three principal methods of cultivation, which apply respectively to vegetable gardens, to fields bordering water courses, and to fields in the brush.

The vegetable gardens are arranged around the huts and are worked by methods of intensive cultivation, using domestic refuse and irrigation, with no fallow land. They are meticulously cared for by the women. Each parcel of land is knowingly exploited by layers of crops, root crops and high plants which draw on the soil at different levels. These village gardens are designed to provide the carry-over between harvests. Millet, maize, tobacco (mid-August), etc., are cultivated in them. They are surrounded by productive trees.

The most fertile fields border water courses, where the land is easily irrigated. These small fields are generally worked by the women for raising rice, cotton, onions, and fruit trees.

24 Lastly, the furuba are veritable brush fields where wide, extensive, and cyclical cultivation is carried out, the brush being cleared by burning. During the dry season, the trees are cut at 0.70 meters or 1 meter from the ground [28] without removing the stumps, so that the subsequent fallow period may be brief. The cut branches are piled by the stumps. After drying, the grass is set on fire. On old fields, millet stalks and high grass are piled up before setting the fire; then the ground is superficially loosened by hoeing, and the ashes are mixed into the soil. The first year millet and peanuts are sown, during the following years less rich crops until the soil is exhausted (by manioc).

The preparation of the soil and the sowing must be done very rapidly (in about three weeks or a month) at the beginning of the rainy season. Sometimes the farmer must hastily sow an insufficiently prepared field, being obliged to transplant later. Sowing time is [82] determined by the appearance in the sky of the Pleiades, which the Bambara call "the hen and the chicks." In the Macina region the sowing begins at a certain village and follows a route going successively from the south northwards, in a zigzag movement corresponding to the appearance of the rains.

In the brush fields, maize is planted, then fonio and coarse millet (sorghum), peanuts and small millet (Pennisetum), etc. (see below). In the fields, monoculture is practiced, or else the cultivation of associated crops: for example, black-eyed peas (Vigna unguiculati walp = V. Catjang) and okra (Hibiscus esculentus) with millets and maize; the da sauce (Hibiscus sabdariffa Linn) with fonio (Digitaria exilis); peanuts with underground peas. In some fields these crops are associated: millets, maize, black-eyed peas, cotton, underground peas, peanuts, sweet potatoes, manioc, and okra (each plant exploiting the soil at a different level).

Sowing is always preceded by familial sacrifices and general rites.

Harvest time is determined by the vegetative period of the plants, without regard to their apparent ripeness. Thus, errors often result when new varieties are introduced by the administration. Accordingly, the harvest date for peanuts, sweet potatoes, and yams

241 may be set too early, and no amount of advice to be patient will retard it. However, for the millets, fonio, and rice, the visible characters of ripeness are known and respected (opening of the husk in the case of millet, color and bowing of the spike in the case of fonio and rice).

242 824 When a field is exhausted, it is allowed to lie fallow, and another terrain is cleared of brush, sometimes several kilometers from the village. A field is recognized as being exhausted when a variety of plant known as sege (Striga senegalensis Benth) appears spontaneously; when the soil is reconstituted and regains its richness, tiekala (Cymbopogon giganteus Benth) and wägha (Andropogon Gayanus Kunth) appear, which indicates that the field may again be cultivated. Thus, the fields are rotated around the village that cultivates them, 342 following a cycle which may last 20 years. Temporary dwellings are set up near the fields under cultivation, and the farmer lives there during the work with each of his wives in turn.

[29] B. Food Crops

243 The Bambara cultivate food plants and textile plants. Millet is the basic crop in the savanna. The pénicillaires, small millet (Pennisetum typhoïdeum R.), are cultivated very far north. Their types are characterized by the length of their vegetative cycles, which vary from 65 to 140 days. In general, they are sown in a rather light soil at the beginning of the rainy season. The grain is put in the ground, without preliminary working of the soil, in holes one pace apart and a few centimeters deep. A pinch of seed is put in each hole, and one to three subsequent workings are given the soil; the first, 15 days after reaping, the others in July and August. The yield varies from 350 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare.

The sorghums (Sorghum vulgare) include a considerable number of varieties with vegetative cycles varying from 120 to 150 days. M. Vichon has collected 11 samples of sugar sorghums, 132 of late mid-season, 87 early, 138 of transplants. M. Creak divides the sorghums into three types: with full, compact, conical spikes; with elongated spikes and more detached spikelets; with very elongated spikes and with spikelets even more detached from the axis. A third

243 classification is based on the distinction between the sorghums of ordinary soils and those of inundated soils. The latter are sown in August in nursery beds in fresh non-inundated ground and are transplanted at the end of the rainy season in land exposed by the receding waters. The yields vary from 400 to 1,200 kilograms per hectare.

[252 273] Millet is consumed in the form of flour or is used to make a fermented beverage, dolo, which is something like weak beer.

Wheat is cultivated in the wadies where the water is shallow from November to February. Cultivation is carried out with or without irrigation in seed holes 25 centimeters apart and 4 centimeters deep, where the farmer deposits a pinch of seed (70 kilograms of seeds are necessary per hectare). The harvest is at the end of March at the latest. The average yields are from 1,000 to 1,500 kilograms. The wheats are generally tender and give excellent flours for bread, but this culture is still in the experimental stage.

Rice is cultivated on 80,000 hectares, of which almost half are in the central Delta (Mopti, Macina, Djenné) which constitutes the true rice granary of the territory. Outside of the Delta, the productive regions are: the upper basin of the Niger (Bamako), the lake and post-lake region (from Lake Débo to Ansongo), the region near Guinea (south of Sikasso and Bougouni), and finally 10,000 hectares of irrigated rice of the Niger Office.

Two kinds of rice are cultivated: one, an African rice (Oryza glaberrima) in the Delta, is a floating rice capable of enduring considerable submersion. The other, of Asiatic origin (Oryza saliva) [sic], is cultivated in the upper valley of the Niger and in the valleys of the small water courses. Lastly, a mountain rice which grows on dry ground must be mentioned.

What characterizes native rice culture is the absence of [30] 243 hydraulic control. It is a rice culture of submersion, thus very 312 insecure. Since 1944 attempts have been made to end these processes of "wild" submersion. In the upper valley of the Niger where the plains are insufficiently and tardily submerged, rice is sown at the beginning of the rainy season, and when it attains a growth of 20 to 25 centimeters, the water is sent gradually into the plain. When the rice is mature, the water is drawn off into the river through overflow outlets. In the Delta, where the rise of the Niger is utilized directly, regulating works prevent the flood from

[sic] [should be sativa - Analyst]

243 manifesting itself too violently and afterwards hold back the receding
312 waters. In the Sahel, the arrangements affect the plains bordering the Niger, where earthen dikes protect the rice from the floods and also control the tributary lakes where they join the river, holding the receding waters in the lakes, thus permitting transplantation of the rice and preventing the subsiding flood from drowning the plants before harvest. From 1944 to 1949, 101,550 hectares were regulated in this manner in the upper valley, the Delta, and the valley of the Sahel.
243 There is a plan to regulate 331,000 new hectares by 1956. In addition, experiments in mechanical tillage have begun. Up until now two methods of cultivation have been applied.

a. Without burning: the hoed land is prepared in furrows 40 to 50 centimeters apart; the seeding is done in seed holes 25 centimeters apart along the furrows. (1)

1. L'agronomie tropicale [Tropical Agronomy], July-August, 1950. [Ed., Revue d'agronomie tropicale, 1951.]

b. With burning: the wild grasses are pulled up in March and April and gathered in beds 1 meter wide and 3 to 6 meters long. They are lightly covered with earth and then set on fire. At the end of June the mounds are turned by hoe, and the seeds planted in holes 30 centimeters apart and 4 centimeters deep. Fifteen grains are put in each hole, or 45 to 50 kilograms per hectare. The yields vary between 800 and 1,200 kilograms of paddy per hectare.

To these basic crops are added the following early carry-over crops:

The millets. Fonio (Digitaria exilis) is cultivated in the region of Senegambia, and iburu (D. Iburna) in the central sector of the Sudan.

Maize and banana trees south of Bamako. Maize is the most widespread crop after millet. Nevertheless, some maize is imported
[351] from Dahomey. Banana trees are planted around the huts and form a belt around the villages. They are also planted in the small fields which border the water courses. Large bananas are harvested which are picked green and cooked.

245 Mango trees, recently imported (about fifty years ago), give
177 an excellent yield and are destined to be developed more and more.

244 The Bambara groundnut ripens its seed underground. It is cultivated from the southern border of the Sahara to the Cape, but its primary home [31] is in the Sudan where the greatest number of cultivated varieties is found. (1)

1. Jacques Félix, for a study on the Bambara groundnut (Voandzeia subterrena), Agriculture tropicale [Tropical Agriculture], January-February, 1950. [Ed., Revue d'agronomie tropicale.]

Manioc and yams at certain points along the Niger escape the devastations of the Acridiidae insects which can not attack their roots.

Other crops are used to balance the diet: condiments and [263] fleshy plants, such as, pimento, sesame, various labiates, okra, [177] sorrel, squash, peanuts (imported in the sixteenth century from America). Peanuts, to thrive, need loose, light soil. They are sown in June at the beginning of the rainy season and are harvested in [252] November. The natives eat them roasted; they make oil and soap from them and give the stalks to their animals. Cultivation is entirely in the hands of the natives. In Senegal manpower is insufficient; [464] before 1940 thousands of Sudanese workers were called upon each [167] season, particularly Bambara, the "Navétanes," who hired themselves out to the farmers of Senegal in order to acquire the textiles and other products they needed. The peanut is an export product. Also cultivated are nitrogenous vegetables (Bambara groundnuts, black-eyed peas, dolichos, kissis, etc.) and the numerous and varied amaranths, tomatoes, eggplants, gourds, and, since 1940, potatoes which are grown more and more.

222 Finally, we will cite: a) the gathering of wild plants which 263 serve as condiments: the fruits of the baobab (Adansonia digitata), of the corchorus, of the Parkia biglobosa [nèrè], and of the karite tree (Butyrospermum), formerly called the "butter tree," which is cultivated to some degree -- the fruit is something like that of the palm tree and contains a core whose kernels enclose a fatty matter, shea butter, valued for making soap, as an illuminant, for the toilet;

222 b) the gathering of scarcity foods: baobab, cenchrus, cassia, the kola nut (Sterculia acuminata). Kola nuts are much prized by the natives;

Kola nuts are much prized by the natives;
their caffeine content makes them a stimulant and energizer. The Bambara use seven kinds of kola nuts in their sacrificial and divinatory rites: 1. Dangoro (red nut); 2. Geleworo (white nut); Sosokuworo (a red nut pointed at one end); 4. Flaniworo (yellow kola); 5. Worodanda (kola without opening) which has no apparent cleft where it may be split open; 6. Bassiworo (a dark red, bitter nut); 7. Ryeworo (nut of light and indeterminate color). (This list is given us by G. Dieterlen in her Essai sur la religion Bambara [Essay on the Bambara Religion]).

To prepare kola nuts, they are placed in baskets of very coarse mesh lined with leaves that are moistened every four or five days.

Among cultivated trees, other than banana, mango, lemon, orange, pineapple trees [ananas, may be a kind of pine; the pineapple is not a tree fruit], etc., one must mention the Acacia albida, which plays a large role in Bambara mythology. In the dry season, it is used as fodder for cattle.

[32] C. Textile Crops

Side by side with these food crops, the Bambara cultivate textile plants which they use in addition to the wild textile plants. Among the principal ones, we shall point out the da (Hibiscus cannabinus) whose fibers are used by fishermen to make their nets. It does not rot and is a possible rival of jute. The labor to exploit it, pulling up the stalks, retting, extraction of the fibers, is done in the dry season, when many hands are available. (1)

1. G. Spitz, L'Ouest africain français [The French West African]. [Ed., L'Ouest africain, A.O.F. et Togo; The West African, French West Africa and Togo.]

Cotton, which grows spontaneously in many places, is cultivated near the villages as an annual plant; it is a perennial plant which renews itself every four or five years. During the cultivation cycle, it is grown between millet and maize. The harvesting is done by women; it is picked out and spun by women, but it is woven

248 into narrow bands by weavers [men] who make clothes from it in.
286 unbleached, indigo-blue, yellow, or black fabrics. At the present time, after numerous attempts at improvement since the occupation,
[654] seeds selected according to the zones of cultivation are distributed to the farmers, and the administration encourages industrial cotton cultivation in irrigated regions, as well as mechanical spinning and weaving.

248 Sisal is an agave of Mexican origin. The long, thick, pointed
[17] leaves, after undergoing a series of industrial operations including mechanical extraction of the fibers, yields very strong textile fibers suitable for cordage, rope making, rug manufacture, canopies, etc.

Kapok (Eriodendron anfractuosum) until a few years ago was merely gathered, but now plantations have been created. The fruit is in the form of capsules containing seeds enveloped in a vegetal wadding. In one year the kapok tree can furnish 30 kilograms of fibers used in mattress-making, hat-making . . .

D. Agricultural Tools

24 Bambara farming tools are very simple. The hoe is almost the only agricultural instrument used. There are several kinds of hoe, particularly in the Bougouni region: the tyerengu, 0.50 meters wide, with a straight handle (chiefly used by the Sénoufo); the n'gu kala, 0.30 meters wide, with a curved handle. These two are used for digging, scraping, and banking. The flotton, from 0.10 to 0.20 meters wide and with a handle made from a forked branch, is used for the second dressing of the earth and for weeding. (When the weeds are too big, the weeding is done by hand). These hoes oblige the peasant to work stopped over. Let us also mention the axe, dyeli, which serves to cut shrubs and the branches of trees in clearing land, the machete, and a small pickaxe with a hoe handle, the yalo.

[33] Millet spikes are harvested with the aid of a special small knife to cut the stalk into pieces. Finally, the threshing of the ears is done with large bent sticks having round handles and flat ends.

[533] Agricultural labors, tillage and threshing, are undertaken
[461] collectively following the cadence indicated by an instrumentalist. Work in the fields is generally done by starting at the bottom of a slope and working up, so the rain will wash off the weeds. The

241 threshing of millet is done on the village threshing floor, facing west.

Attempts have been made to substitute the plow for the hoe, but with indifferent success, for deep plowing of these fragile soils brings the laterite bed of the subsoil to the surface, resulting in the final ruin of the fields.

The Bambara have no organic fertilizer other than household wastes, except in some regions where the shepherds lead their flocks onto the stubble after the harvest. Although only superficially worked, the soils are quickly exhausted and must be abandoned after a few years. Clearing the land by brush fire has the drawback of progressive deforestration.

E. Production Statistics

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433 As statistics are established by circles or by administrative centers, it is impossible to give precise figures on the volume of agricultural production which may be attributed specifically to the Bambara. However, since the Bambara constitute the vast majority of the population in certain circles, it is not without interest to furnish some figures on Sudanese agriculture. It must be pointed out, however, that the acreage under cultivation in the country cannot be estimated even approximately. The statistics established by the circles or administrative centers are founded on approximations so vague that it is not even reasonable to take them into consideration.

As an indication of this, we may cite the figures furnished by the administration of the Bougouni circle. The estimates are calculated on the probable number of workers in a region, to each of whom is attributed a field of theoretical acreage. Three-fourths of the production is assigned to millet and the rest to regional crops. The average yields per hectare calculated in this manner may give a probable indication of the quantity harvested, but they cannot be verified in any manner.

Production According to "Le Guide A.O.F. (1950)"
[The French West African Guidebook]

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Bamako

Export Products -- Karite, peanuts, 11,700 M.T. [metric tons]; sisal, 300 M.T.; cotton, 20 M.T.; tobacco, 35 M.T.

Food crops -- Millet, 92,256 M.T.; maize, 11,200 M.T.; rice, 4,917 M.T.; fonio, 200 M.T.; yams, 1,000 M.T.; manioc, 2,600 M.T.; potatoes, 1,506 M.T.; sweet potatoes, 3,810 M.T.; beans and onions, 15,200 M.T.; peas, 8,420 M.T.

[34] Ségou

Exports -- Peanuts, 10,000 M.T.; rice, 6,000 M.T.; kapok, 600 M.T.; karite almonds, 1,000 M.T.; butter, 100 M.T.; gum, 20 M.T.

Production of the Niger Office -- Rice, 10,000 M.T.; cotton, 1,300 M.T.

Food crops -- Millet, 15,400 M.T.; maize, 1,000 M.T.; fonio, 4,200 M.T.; peas, 2,600 M.T.; beans, 1,600 M.T.

Bougouni

Exports -- Karite butter, 100 to 600 M.T.; peanuts, 500 M.T.; millet, 1,000 M.T.; wax.

Food crops -- Millet, 40,000 M.T.; fonio, 10,000 M.T.; rice, 6,000 M.T.; maize, 5,000 M.T.; peanuts, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes. (Charts on following pages.)

II. Animal Husbandry

A. Methods of Stock Raising

439 The Bambara are a sedentary, agricultural people; they have a symbiotic relationship with the Somono and Bozo, who are fishermen and sailors exclusively, and with other semi-nomadic peoples like the Peul who are shepherds.

3: Papers--42 S-4 (no date) 1954 FA8 Bambara FA8

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Production figures
furnished by the Bougouni circle for the year 1950

Crop	Area planted	Average yield per hectare in metric tons	Quantities harvested in metric tons	Metric tons needed for seed	For Food	Available for sale
Millet	60,000	0.500	30,000	1,200	27,000	2,000
Rice	1,500	0.700	1,000	100	800	100
Peanuts	2,500	0.600	1,500	150	350	1,000
Maize	4,000	0.700	2,800	50	2,750	
Fonio	1,000	0.700	700	100	600	
Manioc, sweet potatoes, yams	300	2.000	600		600	
Beans and peas	100	0.800	80	10	70	

Area cultivated .. 69,400

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Industrial Crops

Crop	Hectares planted	Average yield per hectare	Quantities harvested in metric tons	Local Consumption	Seed	Available for sale
Peanuts	2,500	0.600	1,500	150	350	1,000
Native cotton	500	0.150	75	75		
"N'Courala" cotton	60	0.200	12			
Tobacco	750	0.400	300	150		150
Dah[sic], sisal	insignificant					

The Société de Prevoyance [Welfare Society?] has stocked 600 groves with mango trees, cailcedra, and poincianas.

23/ 43/ [35] However, the Bambara can assemble flocks by exchanging their grain for animals obtained from Peul, Moor, or Touareg shepherds. It is their way of investing their savings; thus, they never dispose of their animals during their periods of increase, but let them grow old in the herds, and their capital increases effortlessly, watched over by the head of the family.

233 184 In the Sahel, during the rainy season, the animals live by grazing on the numerous grasses and leguminous plants that grow on the mimosa-studded steppe. During the dry season, they live on the fallen branches and husks of the acacias. Then there is transhumance [221] to the inundated regions which become pastures as the waters recede. In the Nioro region, transhumance is towards the Kaarta, the Baoulé, and the Bakoy.

In the Sudan region the animals entrusted to the Peul make short journeys to change pastures; in the rainy season, to the plateaus which are immense pastures; from November on, they return to the valleys and streams.

In the Guinean area, the village flock is entrusted to a Peul shepherd who leads it off in the morning and brings it back at night. The animals are then tethered to the stakes in their owners' courtyards or are penned in an enclosure where the women go to milk them. After the harvest the flocks graze in the fields, but, from the beginning of February, they no longer stray from the dwellings, because everything is parched. The beasts are then fed millet, peanut stalks, or foliage.

231 Neither cattle nor sheep are in the least supervised in reproduction. Coupling is unrestricted and takes place at random in the pastures and at the whim of the animals throughout the year. Birth occurs no matter where; the herdsmen know nothing of obstetrical practice. The calves are nourished with a lightly salted mash of millet stalks or with the crushed fruit of a fig named aourou which supposedly has milk-producing properties.

[232] The finest male goats often are castrated to fatten or tame them. In Kaarta and Mandé goats are raised in pens constructed on piles one or two meters from the ground, with a flooring of boughs which allows excrement to fall through. In this way, the animals are protected from the humidity and from wild beasts.

231 Horses, a mark of wealth, receive scarcely more attention.
[556] The stallions, particularly those of the chief, are fettered to stakes at the hut, but the mares are left free to roam around the village and at the age of 20 months are covered by any male horse whatever. The feeding of the mare and her offspring is neglected, that of the male horse is more satisfactory.

235 Poultry is raised in all villages, in nearly every yard. They live on what they can find. In upper Ivory Coast the natives drive them onto the cultivated fields after the harvest. Often, the villagers build small roosts attached to the house walls.

[36] B. Stock Raising Areas

231 In the Sahelian zone, shrubby vegetation affords a very precious source of nutriment for camels, horses, cattle, sheep, and goats. The 14th parallel marks the line of demarcation between the zebus to the north and the taurins to the south. This line passes through Kayes, Bafoulabé, Kolokani, south of Ségou, San, and Tougan. It corresponds to the northern limit of the tsetse fly.

Peul zebus are very well represented in the Macina region during the dry season and in the Haoussa [Hausa] region in the north and the Gourma region in the south during the rainy season. It is a good animal for butchering. Faraboué zebus, produced by the crossing of taurins with zebus, live in the zone cohabited by the two species. Finally, Moorish zebus in the Nioro, Nara, and Macina circles are not so good for butchering as the Peul zebus, but the cows are better milk producers (six to seven liters a day compared to two or three).

Woolly sheep are found at Macina, in the Macina circle, and in the Issa Ber circle. They die where more than 60 centimeters of rain falls per year. Their shepherds, the Rimaïbé, change their pastures according to the Niger floods. Finally, the delicate, well-muscled goats of the Sahel are found again in the Fouta-Djallon to the south.

The Sudan zone is less suited to stock raising. The high bush is infested with tsetse flies, ticks, and gastro-intestinal parasites. Camels disappear.

The taurins, doubtless introduced by the Berber peoples from southern Morocco, are derived from long-horned cattle. The

231 subspecies Méré or Bambara, which is found at Kaarta, Bélédougou, Mandé, and Minianka, is produced by the crossing of the N'Dama strain with the zebu. The male is a good animal for butchering; the cow is a poor milk producer.

The long-haired Moorish sheep, raised in the Ngima regions, Nara, and Nioro, is poor for butchering, while the Peul sheep with greatly developed horns, originating in the Sudan, is an excellent animal for butchering. Finally, the sheep of the Fouta-Djallon, or to the south up to the 14th degree of latitude north, is more thick-set; it has short hair, but when crossed with the merino sheep furnishes a fleece of from 500 to 600 grams.

The goats raised at Kaarta and Mandé are also stockier than those of the Sahel because they do not roam.

Horses diminish in number and size. They become tame and soft. The southern horse is a Barbary horse enfeebled by the climate. It is found to the south of Kaarta, at Minianka, in the regions of San and Djenné. The Bélédougou horse is a Barbary horse transformed by the climate and by man. The center for raising it is in the Touba canton 90 kilometers to the northeast of Koulikoro.

The ass of Minianka and of the southern Sudan is small, 0.90 meters to 1 meter, but stout. It has a beige coat with a darker dorsal band and cross stripe.

Few mules are found, for if the ass is scorned, the mule is despised.

Pig raising appears, as well as the keeping of domestic fowl.

235 [37] The chicken is of an archaic type, small in size and light in weight (one kilogram). It has few muscles. A half-wild bird, it lays only about a hundred eggs a year and sits on them all. The Guinea fowl weighs about 1.2 kilograms and has a coarse flesh. The musk or Barbary duck is raised in large numbers on the banks of the Senegal and the Niger. The females are excellent layers and sitters. They weigh from 3 kilograms to 3.5 kilograms. The flesh of the young is good, that of the adults musky. Finally, the turkey is raised in all regions, but only rarely because it requires too much attention.

231 Rabbits are not raised; they are too sensitive to local diseases.

The Guinean zone permits no more than the raising of pigs and poultry. Horses are not found there.

C. Statistics

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	Sheep Goats	Bovines	Horses	Asses
Bamako	64,987	49,425	6,227	10,356
Ségou	234,645	161,965	10,454 -5,165	12,159
Bougouni	17,380	29,197	431	1,651

Estimates for the three Bambara centers.

D. Products from Livestock

253 Meat -- The principal slaughtering centers are Bamako and Kayes.

439 Some of the available bovines are exported to Senegal. This is done from the Kayes circle by way of the routes: Néma, Timbesa, Nioro, Kayes; or Néma, Nara, Yelamano, Kayes. Others are sent to Guinea to provide meat for the workers in the gold placers of the Siguiri region. Some go to the Ivory and Gold Coasts, where the animals are sent chiefly from Mopti, with participation from the circles [487] of Ségou, San, and Niafunké. Numerous caravan routes penetrate to the Ivory Coast by way of Odienné, Seguela, Korhogo, Bouaké, and Boho-Dioulasso.

[255] Preserves are made in the factories of Lyndiane.

Leather -- Leather comes either from the slaughter houses or 261 from the bush. It is of mediocre quality because of poor preparation: the skins are dried in the sun, folded in two lengthwise, hair against hair, and tied together with a wire, ten to a bundle. About 600 metric tons pass through Bamako annually.

234 Milk and milk derivatives -- The cows are poor producers; most of the milk is furnished by the Moorish, Peul, and Toronké zebus. Butter production is primitive: the sour milk is put in calabashes, cans, or goat skins and shaken until it turns to butter. At Falaladji near Kayes there is a butter and cheese factory.

236 Wool -- The wool is generally used locally for weaving; only 439 a small percentage is exported to France. A great effort has been

A great effort has been
654 made to improve the exploitation of livestock; in this regard [38]
232 one must mention the stock-raising experimental center of the Service Zootechnique, the Serotherapy Center and the Farm School of Sotuba, near Bamako; the sheepfolds at El Oualadji, Nioro, and Nara; and the stallion corrals at Nioro, Ouahigouya, Mopti, Bandiagara, Gao, Bamako, and Goundam.

III. Commerce

651 The Bambara region follows the commercial regulations of
441 French West Africa. It is, in particular, subject to the customs regulations put into force November 30, 1950 (Journal officiel A.O.F., No. 2507 [French West African Official Journal]), which include a tax on merchandise of whatever origin and a customs surtax on each product coming within the framework of the international conventions to which France has subscribed.

Customs receipts for 1950 were 131,000,000 francs for the whole of the Sudan. They reveal a rather mediocre commercial traffic, definitely inferior to that of Senegal for example (3,325,000,000 francs). This is partly due to the geographic situation of the country and to the state of the means of communication, and partly to the limited resources of the region.

A. External Commerce

a. Means of Communication

439 External commerce has three outlets: Dakar, Conakry, Abidjan. It is through these outposts that the Bambara world communicates with Europe and the United States. This is why the continental isolation of the country remains a formidable impediment to outside commerce.

505 The means of communication remain very mediocre across this country so inordinately spread out. Navigable waterways are irregular. Commercial navigation is possible as follows: on the Senegal from Saint-Louis to Kayes from July to October, and up to Podor during the rest of the year; on the Niger, by steamer during the flood period and by barge the rest of the year, between Koulikoro

505 amd Ansongo (1,400 kilometers), and between Bamako and Kouroussa (374 kilometers); on the Bani from San up to Mopti on the Niger. In addition, a very large number of native pirogues carrying merchandise swarm on the navigable waterways. These waterways, of strictly local value, remain impassable too long at a time to
496 maintain substantial trade. The railways constructed for strategic purposes are designed to link the ports with the navigable canals and form no sort of network among themselves. Moreover, the gauge (one meter) is weak, single, and capable of carrying only a small volume of traffic. The four principal lines are: Dakar-Niger up to Koulikoro, 1,697 km. and 128 stations; Conakry-Niger, 662 km., 40 stations, reaching as far as Kankan where the Milo is navigable; Abidjan-Niger, 834 km., and Benin-Niger, 579 km. Passenger and freight traffic is constantly increasing, and the insuf-
491 ficiency of the railways is compensated for by road traffic. Every secondary center may be reached by truck in the dry season, but, except in the immediate suburbs of the towns [39] most of the roads are simple unpaved tracks. Watercourses are crossed by ferries, submerged causeways, or temporary log bridges ... The road network is 80 times less dense than in France, for the rainy season causes annual havoc. Its maintenance is very burdensome. Bridges are rare, but there are some fine ones that must be mentioned: over the Bagolé, over the Baoulé, and over the Milo at Kankan. Roads are classified as: inter-colonial (linking territories of French West Africa -- one of these routes links Bamako to one of the three great trans-Saharan tracks which go towards North Africa), roads of general usefulness, and roads of local usefulness.

509 Finally, an air network tends to develop more and more. One line already plies between Dakar, Bamako, Boho-Dioulasso, Ouagadougou, Niamey, and Kamo. Another serves Dakar, Kayes, Bamako, Bobo-Dioulasso, and Abidjan. Other lines just recently created have not as yet definitely fixed routes. We will mention the lines: Dakar-Bamako-Ségou-Bobo-Dioulasso-Serkédougou-Abidjan; the line, Dakar-Ségou-Mopti-Gao; that of Dakar-Boké-Conakry-Kankan; and finally a line used chiefly to transport meats in dry periods, Dakar-Kayes-Nioro-Bamako. These interior lines make up a network of connecting lines for the distribution of passengers and cargo landed at Kakar by the long-range carriers.

437 The great distances to the coasts remain an obstacle to outside commerce, for the country lacks motor power. All coal must be imported, and hydroelectric equipment is scanty.

b. Commercial Regulation

The decree 3771-SE of July 21, 1949, set the terms for importing quota goods from metropolitan France and from countries of the French Union or for importing foreign goods. The regulation of exports is set forth in the decree 2233-SE of April 19, 1950. Any merchant holding an export license may export goods. According 441 to Richard-Molard, the commercial companies financed by French and foreign capital (increasingly American) still retain the old trading mentality which seeks to wring maximum profits out of the colony without reinvesting in the country's equipment. Attempts to 414 protect the native producers resulted in the creation of cooperatives which were given certain advantages; nevertheless, the cooperatives soon ran up against the competition of the European commercial houses and were discouraged.

c. Organization

443 Trading posts and cooperatives -- Enumeration and classification of trading posts is governed by a local decree, effective as of the opening of the trading which is itself governed by a general decree. In principle, the decree fixing the location of trading posts is drawn up after consultation by the administrations of the Bamako and Kayes Chambers of Commerce.

[40] It is formally forbidden to buy products elsewhere than at these trading posts, under pain of prosecution; confiscation of goods and seizure of vehicles may even be invoked in certain cases of repeated offense.

Role of the trading posts -- The role of these trading posts is to gather together the products of a region; the choice generally falls on a large village served by a practicable road or on a railway station from which the goods may be the more easily moved out. From the administrative point of view , the trading posts facilitate keeping a

443 record of production and provide a replacement for the markets and fairs abolished by a general decree in 1946. For business, the result is less scattered buying centers and less need for vehicles, packing, etc.

474 443 The cooperatives and the trading posts -- Since 1951 two African cooperatives have been in existence: one at Kita, termed a production cooperative, the other at Kayes, termed commercial and industrial. They are organized under the aegis of the Administration by native businessmen, notables who, under cover of the association, hope to escape the influence of the large commercial houses on which they depend. These cooperatives function in a disappointing manner and lack technique, experience, and a sense of continuity. However, they benefit from concealed subsidies in the form of loans from the Common Funds of the Crédit Agricole and from the Société de Prévoyance.

These cooperatives are not required to buy products only at the trading posts. A village where only one cooperative member resides may be chosen as a buying center by the cooperative directors without it even being necessary for them to have the permission of the Administration.

Situation in 1950-51 -- Profiting from the freedom to choose buying centers that the Administration granted them, the cooperatives established them near the trading posts, thus diverting to themselves a large part of the goods that would normally arrive at the posts. Certain trading posts, notably Sirakoro in the Kita circle, saw their purchases drop by 80 percent because buyers of the cooperative were installed at Goro, 30 kilometers back in the hinterland of this canton. The buyers of the commercial houses, who had granted credit to the cultivators during the rainy season, were unable to recover their loans and, therefore installed themselves in the "cooperative" villages outside the trading posts. The cooperatives protested, and the Administration imposed fines, seizure of scales, products, etc., and, above all, brought intimidation to bear through the intermediary of canton and village heads who forbade the local populations to sell their products to buyers from the commercial houses. The only method of countering these acts was to buy everywhere the cooperative bought.

d. Imports and Exports

439 Aside from food peanuts, which remain one of the principal export products, we may mention among the vegetable [41] exports: cotton, rubber from the forests of the south, and "salabraida" and "galam" gums. Livestock and its by-products are too mediocre to mention and are not shipped out of Africa. Let us note, however, the growing export of hides from Kayes, Mopti, the Sudan, and Guinea. As far as mineral products are concerned, the most important one for export is still provided by the old gold mines of Bouré and Bambouk. The Macenta region produces a small quantity of industrial diamonds which are sold in London. Sudanese iron is too far from the coast to be profitable.

The country imports all manufactured objects, construction materials, tools, coal, mineral oils, steel bars, edible foodstuffs, fabrics ...

B. Internal Commerce

a. Commercial Routes

More important commercial traffic takes place within the Sudan or with surrounding countries by way of Senegal, the Sahel, and the southern colonies.

Imports:

By way of Senegal -- French and English thread; salts from Roumania (formerly) and from southern France; wrought and unwrought metals; construction and transportation materials.

By way of the Sahel -- salt in bars from Sebka d'Idjil; bulk salt from Seye; cattle, sheep and goats, horses, gum.

By way of the south -- Guinea: kolas, glass necklaces, ornamental and toilet articles. Ivory Coast: kola nuts, glass trinkets, ornamental and toilet articles. Gold Coast: kola nuts, loincloths and pieces of English cloth, copper rods, glassware, and necklaces.

Exports:

By way of Senegal -- rubber, gold, ivory, peanuts, gum, wool, karite butter, hides of cattle, sheep and goats ...

By the Sahel -- grains, native cotton and wool cloth, sugar, ornamental articles.

439 By the south -- Guinea: rubber, ivory, gold, livestock, rice, millet. Ivory Coast: Sahel salt, livestock, wax, karite, native cotton and wool cloth and blankets. Gold Coast: livestock, native cloth.

443 In addition, all centers of any importance had a large periodic market which was a sort of regional fair, plus a small daily market which permitted the inhabitants of the locality to obtain provisions as needed.

b. Caravan Commerce

443 484 Over and above these markets, a long-distance caravan trade is carried on by the Haoussa and the Dioula, who transport their merchandise in the north with beasts of burdens, in the south by human bearers. These movements continue a commercial tradition and have been altered only by legislation. Before the conquest, any man who wished could enter this commerce on the condition of paying his "Fama" the usual sum. The traders, to protect themselves against brigands, traveled [42] in caravans. Practice had it that the [787] traders consulted a priest before leaving to find out if their undertaking would succeed. After the usual sacrifices, the priest revealed the name of the one who would direct the group. The caravan chief could even be a captive, but everyone owed him obedience because a divine force inhabited him. To each state which is crossed, the [651] caravan paid a customs fee on entering and asked the Fama for permission to cross, indicating the extent of their route and making propitiatory sacrifices in each region. Sometimes certain districts, such as the region of Bougouni, forbade blood sacrifices for fear of bringing down evil forces on themselves. The caravans then let loose an animal secretly at night.

c. Commercial Practices

438 643 Everything could be sold except gold, which was the property of the Fama. No one was supposed to possess gold. If the gold miners of Bouré could sell the gold extracted from the mines, when the buyers entered the Bambara country, they had to present it to the Fama. If he did not wish to buy it, he authorized certain rich people permanently settled in the district (that is, who would be unlikely to leave) to buy

438 643 [648] the gold. But they, in turn, could in no case resell the gold to anybody other than the Fama. Aside from certain sacrificial uses and the making of jewels for the Fama's wives, gold served to ransom captives or to negotiate royal alliances.

435 [284] The price of the commodities was set by agreement between buyer and seller, except for cloth which had a fixed price, 100 cowrie shells per cubit in the Bamako region. As a matter of fact, the cotton gathered in the fields of the community was woven by captives who were not paid.

426 686 Loans were made without interest. Interest, korko, is still forbidden today. Loans are guaranteed by labor. The debtor who could not repay his debt on time and whose family head refused to pay it for him was seized by the Fama and held as security until such time as he had reimbursed his debt.

804 [436] Side by side with French units of measurement, the natives use their own for trade. Their measures of length: the cubit (elbow to tip of middle finger), the span, the foot, the length of both arms extended, the pace, the diare, and the kala . . . ; their measures of capacity: the sawel or moure, the mud; their weights: the moutkhal, the catal, the large and little karoni, the wakie, the pellet of tali, of tomi, of bagana, of gelen. Cotton is weighed on rough scales whose pointer is a wooden rod and the balances large gourds hung by strings. For weights, large rocks, kulu, from 800 to 1,200 grams are used. Finally, the Bambara use French money almost exclusively: one franc of metropolitan France is equivalent to 0.50 francs C.F.A. Nevertheless, the use of cowrie shells is still frequent.

d. Banks

453 One bank of issue exists in French West Africa: the Bank of French West Africa. There are also private banks, the number of which has increased during the past few years.

The Bank of French West Africa, which has a branch at Bamako, carries out the following operations: [43]

1. discounts notes or bills of two or several signatures due in not more than 180 days;

2. creates, negotiates, or buys drafts;

453 3. discounts negotiable obligations or non-negotiable obligations guaranteed by warrants or receipts for merchandise, by assignment of pending harvests, by bills of lading, by pledges of securities, by deposits of gold and silver ingots, and monies in bullion.

4. participates in loans to the State or Colonies with the provision that, except for special authorization, this participation does not total more than half the reserves.

5. participates in the creation of financial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises in the interest of the country, providing this participation does not amount to more than a quarter of its reserves.

The private banks are:

The National Bank for Commerce and Industry with a branch at Bamako and another at Kayes.

The African Commercial Bank with a branch at Bamako.

These are deposit banks, but the second is also an investment bank.

[44]

CHAPTER 5

HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

I. Prehistory

173 The Bambara have fairly precise notions about their prehistory and their protohistory, and about the history of their ancestors and the evolution of their techniques. Their tradition has them as coming from Mandé, a country whose location remains uncertain for several authors (1), and which even leads Monteil (2) to say: "... in fact

1. J. Vidal, Au sujet de l'emplacement du Mali ou Melli; le véritable emplacement du Mali [Concerning the Location of the Mali or Melli; The True Location of the Mali].

2. Monteil, Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta [The Bambara of Ségou and Kaarta].

173 there is no country called Mandé and there never was. Every chief situates its capital wherever seems best to him."

Among these capitals are counted: Kangaba, Miami, Tabou, Diakala, Kounfangué ... For the Bambara, Mandé is the center from which issued the 48 Sudanese populations which spread out following a definite movement (3) to cover the territory included between the

3. S. de Ganay, "Notes sur la théodicée bambara" [Notes on Bambara Theodicy]. [Ed., Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Vol. 135 (1949), pp. 187-213.]

Atlantic coast, the Senegal, the Niger, and up to Dahomey. (4)

4. Zahan, Aperçu sur la théogonie dogon [A Look At Dogon Theogony].

The memory of this expansion is still preserved today in the [796] septennial cult which brings all the people to the sanctuary of Kangaba, the Mandé blow (the vestibule of Mandé), under the direction of persons of pure race belonging to the Kéita family. (5) Other

5. G. Dieterlen, Essai sur la religion bambara [Essay on Bambara Religion].

traditions recognize two centers of expansion: one to the south of Kangaba at Balanzan, the other in the Nioro circle to the south of Goumbou, Waghadou. Intertribal septennial cults commemorate this event.

From our historical point of view, we know very little about the origins of the Bambara.

172 Prehistoric geological strata, still poorly dated, found in the valleys of the Senegal and the Niger show us that these territories were very anciently inhabited. Franz de Zeltner (6) has gathered

6. Fr. Zeltner, "Quelques gisements préhistoriques de la vallée du Sénégal" [Some Prehistoric Strata in the Valley

172

of the Senegal]. [Ed., Bull. et Mém. de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Paris, 16 Nov. 1916.]

objects of worked stone in the valley of the Senegal over a distance of 200 kilometers between Bafoulabé and the confluence of the Falémé. The Kolimbiné basin also presents numerous strata. Zeltner and Waterlot have found worked stones as far as Nioro, 250 kilometers from Kayes; this is the northernmost [45] point. The tools described by R. Vaufrey (1) are made of worked schist and labradorite.

1. R. Vaufrey, Le Néolithique paratumbien: une civilisation agricole primitive du Soudan [The Paratumbian Neolithic: a Primitive Agricultural Civilization of the Sudan].

They include polished and unpolished axes, disks, scrapers, graters, polishers, etc. R. Furon specifies that the strata of Kaarta have yielded a Mousterian jasper industry in the upper alluvial layers of a site at Baoulé, along with Neolithic tools of Nigritic type above the alluvial layers, and, finally, at Guétéla there were numerous tumuli, from two to three meters, covered with pottery debris. In the vicinity of Bamako, Waterlot gathered, from the surface of the ground, paratumbian works in schist and dolerite, including, among others, incompletely polished axes, microliths of quartz, and a whole collection of agricultural material.

Painted grottoes have been described by Zeltner. One near Bamako represents men and horses (the Bambara designate these grottoes by the name of kouloubléma). Four others in the vicinity of Kita present the figures of men and animals, and alphabet-like forms (the Malinké call them Sebe, "writing," and attribute them to the Niamara, giants who were the first men), as well as paintings of hands in negative. Finally, the grotto of Boudoufo contains geometric drawings. The conventional representations of men and animals recall the rock carvings of the Sahara and Egypt.

II. History

A. Origins of the Bambara People

174 Where do the historical Bambara people come from, that is, the people who installed themselves on the banks of the Niger to form the kingdoms of Ségou, Bélédougou, Kaarta, and who are more or less known to us through certain Arab chronicles (Tarikh-es-Soudan [History of Sudan], 1665, Tarikh-el-Fettach [History of Fettach], 1670, chronicles of Néma and Oualata, translated in 1927) or through certain explorer's reports (Mungo Park, Raffenel, etc.)?

According to a tradition reported by Delafosse, the Bambara came from Toron, an eastern province of Ouassoulou, situated in the present-day Ivory Coast, on the route from Odienné to Sikasso. Tauxier has shown that this tradition confused two events separated by a rather long period of time.

1) The slow descent in a southeast to northwest direction of Bambara masses coming, doubtless, from the Bougouni-Sikasso region (where they are still very numerous) down to the Niger, which they undoubtedly reached about the twelfth century.

2) An invasion of the Peul of Macina, who, in the seventeenth century, overran the Bambara masses and organized them into a kingdom in the Ségou region before crossing the Niger and advancing in an east-west direction. These Peul supposedly originated in a city named Torone, explaining the possible error by Delafosse.

Naturally, none of these regions was deserted before the arrival [46] of the Bambara. The original inhabitants of Ségou were Bozo fishermen who came from the north (seventh century). At the same time as the infiltration of the Bambara from the southeast, there were several invasions from the north by the Soninké, who, richer and more advanced, organized the rough Bambara agriculturalists into chiefdoms. After a short domination by the Soso (twelfth century), the Mali empire spread in the upper valley of the Niger; it is probable that when the empire lost its dynamism the region occupied by the Bambara, mingled with Mandingue, Sénoufo, and Bobo, acquired a certain autonomy (seventeenth century).

B. Constitution of the Bambara Kingdoms

175 At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Peul invasion introduced the Bambara into history.

173 This history, moreover, begins by a legend: two brothers,
175 Baramangolo and Niangolo, coming from Torone, one moon east of Ségou, succeeded in crossing the Niger on the back of a fish, M'Polio (Heterobrancus), which earned them the cognomen of Kouloubali (without pirogue). Baramangolo, who was good, obtained the heritage of the king of Ségou; Niangolo, who was bad (he had killed the fish M'Polio), could not remain in this peaceful country and went further west to wage war against the people of Mali.

Local traditions confirm this legend. Due to the Sudanese anarchy of the seventeenth century caused by the fall of the Songhaï empire (1591), population movements brought Peul horsemen into contact with Bambara outposts in the region of Diénné. The Peuls imposed their suzerainty, organized the anarchic Bambara, and led them to the conquest of the Ségou and Baïko regions, populated chiefly by the Soninké (the traditions suggest that this conquest was a largely peaceful penetration).

175 Two small kingdoms then established themselves: that of the legendary Baramangolo on the right bank at Ségou, that of Niangolo on the left bank at Sounsana (near Mourdiah). After union with the Soninké was accomplished, the successor of Baramangolo, Kaladian Koulibali (1652-82), had impressive forces at his disposal; he freed himself from the nominal authority of the Moroccan caïds of Diénné, and may even have conducted a victorious attack against Timbuktu. The Bambara star at Ségou dimmed somewhat under his successors, Danfassari (1682-97) and Souma. But in 1712 Souma ceded the throne to the man who was to become the great warrior chief, the Tigi-ton Mamari Koulibali.

For his part, the wicked Niangolo revealed himself to be an adroit politician. uHe married his son Soussa to a Kéita, thus ennobling his family and giving it rights to the ancient Mali empire. Their son Massa was an amiable and adroit monarch who accumulated resources in men and money. His successor, Bénéfali (1710-45), used them well, but his increasing power aroused the distrust of his cousin

175 at Ségou. Bénéfali had the wisdom to avoid a conflict, but his brother, Foulakoro, who took the throne in 1745, was less happily inspired and was crushed in 1754 by Mamari Koulibali.

[47] C. Mamari Koulibali

Here is the veritable creator of the kingdom of Ségou, one of those powerful personalities who crop up from time to time in the Black anarchy, such as a Soundiata or a Sonni Ali. He represents the moment of maximum expansion of the Peul-Bambara conglomerate which was formed in the seventeenth century by interbreeding of the Bambara mass with the feudal Peul from the east.

Mamari Koulibali was essentially a war leader, and the great events of his reign were military events. He subjugated local chiefs; with aid of the Peul he repulsed the assault launched against Ségou by the powerful king of Kong (1725); he liberated the country from the suzerainty of the Soninké Boaré and took their capital, Kirango (1740); finally, solicited by the Soninké of Mourdiah, he destroyed Sounsana, capital of the brother kingdom of the descendants of Niangolo. He killed their chief, Foulakoro (1754), and unified all the Bambara of the Niger Valley. Having assembled a redoubtable army, which he even endowed with a fleet and a corps of engineers, he was able to impose his sovereignty on the Peul kingdom of Macina and may even have menanced Timbuktu. It was during the course of his reign that one sees an important evolution in the structure of Bambara society.

D. Reforms of Mamari Koulibali

175 567 It was in taking into account the role of slaves in the army that Mamari Koulibali was to revolutionize the ancestral society (see the traditional social organization).

He managed, first of all, to take away the greatest number of men, free or slaves, from their family community, in order to make of them Ton-dyon (slaves of the ton [ton is the largest unit of social organization]. To do this, he used the following methods: when a criminal was condemned to a fine, Mamari paid it; if a man was condemned to death, Mamari pardoned him; when one of his subjects could not pay his taxes, Mamari freed him of his debt on condition that the man put himself or one of his sons at the disposition of the

175 sovereign. In all cases the man, although pardoned, was deprived
567 of his personal liberty and became the emperor's chattel.

Mamari next wished to assure himself of the personal fidelity
[578] of his Ton-dyon by enrolling them in cults dedicated to his person.
Thus, the old ton was transformed into a brotherhood with Mamari as both political and religious chief. In this way he was able to replace the political anarchy and social structure of the old Bambara regime by a new organization, despotic, very efficient militarily when fully controlled by the chief, but sometimes very dangerous to the stability of the country, as soon was seen.

E. Successors of Mamari

175 Mamari's son, Denkoro (1755-57), was to be the first victim of this all-powerful army. Exasperated by his cruelties, the military chiefs assassinated him and replaced him by his brother, Ali.[48] A Moslem, Ali wanted to propagate Islam and to forbid the use of fermented beverages and the worship of spirits. The Ton-dyon chiefs then massacred Ali and all of the Koulibali family, except two girls who were saved by one of the chiefs, N'Golo Diara. Different chiefs then contended for power: Ton-Mansa, then Kaniouba-Niouma, then Kafa-Diougou, who, all of them, reigned merely a short while before dying a violent death. Finally, N'Golo Diara, descendant of a great family who had become enslaved to Mamari and who, as we have seen, saved his daughters and then married one of them, re-established order, moved the capital to Ségou-Sikoro, and resumed the work of the great Tigi-ton.

In the course of his long reign, (1766-90), N'Golo knew how to make himself respected and loved by his subjects and how to impose his will elsewhere; he established his authority over the Macina region, the Sokolo region, at Diénné, and Timbuktu. He only failed against the Mossi of Yatenga.

Meanwhile, the elder branch of the Koulibali family, crushed by Mamari in 1754 and chased from Bélédougou, rose again. If the successors of the unfortunate Foulakoro, Sey Bamana and Deni Babo, were nothing more than pillaging chiefs raiding at Kaarta, Bélédougou, and Khasso, Sira Bo did establish a stable kingdom with Guémou as capital. His successor, Dessé Koulibali (1788-99) even believed himself strong enough to impose his suzerainty on the Bambara of Ségou.

175 The occasion seemed favorable. After the death of the great N'Golo-Diara, two of his sons disputed the power. Dessé had the bad luck to support the loser. The victor, Mansong (1792-1808), came at once to punish the Kaarta inhabitants and destroyed Guémou, but he could not establish himself in the region.

After this, the evolution of the two kingdoms is roughly parallel. When the people of Ségou are occupied in the east against the people of Macina, the people of Kaarta seize the occasion to raid in the west against the Diawara and the Kassonké. When things go poorly in Macina, the people of Ségou revenge themselves by forays into the territory of the Massassi of Kaarta, who, less powerful, then have to relinguish their expansionist plans. Moreover, somber hours approach for the Bambara. In the east Ahmadou Bari founded a powerful Peul kingdom (1810) in the Macina, and his grandson Hamadou-Hamadou exerts more and more pressure on the kingdom of Ségou. To the west the great Massassi king, Bodian Moriba (1815-32), by repeated blows has exhausted the forces of the Diawara and the Kassonké. This done, he rules over Nioro, but at the same time suppresses those who could have helped him resist the Moslem push of the Toucouleur.

F. The Toucouleur Invasion and the End of the Bambara Kingdoms

175 In 1854 El Hadj Omar, leading his "Talibés" animated by a 177 fierce proselytizing spirit, occupied Nioro and Kaarta and attempted to impose Islam on the Bambara population. The Bambara resisted, supported by their racial brothers of Ségou who had forgotten, too late, the old quarrels. El Hadj Omar, vanquished by the French before Medina, [49] abandoned his dream of a push to the west and sought compensation by turning toward Ségou.

175 The Bambara then put aside their family resentments and joined the Peul of Macina, who were equally menaced by the Toucouleur expansion. But they were up against too strong a foe. Tata, son of the king Ali Diara, resisted for five days against El Hadj Omar's howitzers at Oïtala on the Niger (1861), then succumbed. Hamadou-Hamadou, who had come to his aid, was beaten at Sansanding. Ségou opened its doors; Ali Diara was put in irons. His brother, Kégué-Mari, continued the fight against Ahmadou, son

175 of El Hadj Omar, up to April 6, 1890, the day French troups under Lt. Colonel Archinard delivered Ségou from the cruel Moslem occupation.

The Bambara did not long accept the French yoke. To put an end to their plots, the French resident, Captain Underberg, had to execute the king Mari Diara, an act which inspired several local revolts, chiefly in the Sénoufo region. But the new Fama, Bodian, supported by the French, was able to rapidly re-establish peace. Moreover, the destruction of the Toucouleur kingdom of Macina by Colonel Archinard deprived the rebel Bambara of all possibility of outside support. The Ségou kingdom was definitively pacified in 1893.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

I. Traditional Structure of Bambara Society

A. Social and Political Organization

182 Traditional Bambara social organization is entirely tied up with religious organization; moreover, the social organization determines the whole economic organization to such an extent that the latter cannot be studied independently.

114 In fact, we still know very little about Bambara social organization. Some good records are available to us in the work of Monteil (1), Aubert and Ortoli (2), Delafosse (3), Labouret (4),

1. Monteil, Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta [The Bambara of Segou and Kaarta].

2. Aubert et Ortoli, Coutumier juridique de l'A.O.F. [French West African Common Law].

114

3. Delafosse, Haut-Sénégal et Niger [Upper Senegal and Niger].

4. Labouret, Les Mandingues et leur langue [The Mandingo and Their Language].

etc., but these are still very fragmentary and incomplete. In addi-
177 tion, this society was completely disrupted by the French conquest, either by such radical measures as the suppression of slavery or by a natural evolution as a result of contact with European societies. Nevertheless, traditional structures retain their vitality, despite the effort to adapt them to European formulas.

178 The society seems to have oscillated between familial anarchy and the clan stage, according to alternating ranges of groupings, disassociation, and regroupings.

1. The Family

594 Concerning the Sudanese, Delafosse has already made the
596 distinction between "the restricted family" and the "extended family." The restricted family is composed of the parents and children who live in the "hut." Taken alone, it does not represent a social unit. The true social cell is the extended family. This is the large united family made up of a group of restricted families whose heads recognize a common ancestor. This group, composed of agnates in principle, is the ba-denya, whose members live in huts within an enclosure: gwa or so. The two ends of this [51] enclosure rest on a blo (vestibule) where the ancestors' altar is found.

601 According to Labouret, the Bambara distinguish three cate-
612 gories of family ties: the paternal line, the maternal line, and relationship by marriage. The child takes the dyamu (honorable name) of his father's group, but the terms applied to ancestors and descendants are the same as those of the maternal line.

"... Kinship includes the following generations: tolo-mina... tolo-sama... tolo-ma-sama: who seizes or pulls ears (a belief has it that if a great grandson pulls the ear of his great
[822] grandfather, the latter becomes deaf);

601 612 mo-kɔ (1) = grandfather; mo-muso = grandmother;

1. ɔ = è as in the French mère.

fa = father;
dẽ = son, daughter;
modẽ = grandson, granddaughter;
tolo-mina, etc., as above;
fu... fuy..., as above.

a. In the Paternal Line:

fa = father

ba, ma, ma = wives of the father

binã, baba-ndi;

benoro = the father's brother;
ba - the name = wives of father's brothers

ntene; bingi-musu = father's sister

o or ben-kɔ = husband of father's sister; ben-kɔ is a polite term

kɔrɔ = older brother, son of father's brother older than speaker

kalame = child of father's sister

mokɔ = father's father

mo-muso = father's mother

dẽ, de, di = son, daughter

dẽ = son, daughter

dẽ = son, daughter

de = son, daughter

dẽ; bingilingo = son, daughter, nephew, niece.

the name

doro = younger brother, son of father's brother younger than speaker

kalame = child of mother's brother

mo-dẽ, or the name = son's son

mo-dẽ, or the name = son's son

604 Ntene = father's sister (term derived from a root ta which has also given tana, tene, interdiction). The maternal aunt is the forbidden woman of this generation. The same is true for the father's wives and those women they consider as sisters. This relative wields a great influence in the family, and her curse is greatly feared. The children of the ntene-muso are called kalame, and they call the

604 children of their mother's brother kalame. The kalame-w joke and insult each other when they meet. Marriages between them are sometimes permitted, sometimes forbidden.

601 [52] b. In the Maternal Line:

612

ba: ma; na = mother	dẽ = son, daughter
ben-nkɛ bele-nkɛ bari-nkɛ } mother's brother	be-ni; bare-ndi = sister's son
ba + the name = wife of mother's brother	dẽ = son, daughter
ba-ko . . . . ba + the name (after mother) mother's sister ba-ni-t'ɔ-ni .	dẽ = son, daughter
o or fa = husband of mother's sister	o or de = son of wife's sister
kɔrɔ = child of mother's brother or sister, if older than speaker	doro - child of mother's brother or sister, if younger than speaker
de = child of kɔrɔ or doto	kɔrɔ or doro of the brother
mo-kɔ = mother's father	o or dẽ = daughter's son
mo-muso = mother's mother	o or dẽ = daughter's son (1)

1. Labouret, Les Mandingues et leur langue [The Mandingo and Their Language].

604 The maternal uncle plays a very important role; he must arrange the marriage of his be-ni. He owes him a wife taken from among the daughters of one of his brothers. In exchange, the be-ni owes payment in labor.

The mother's sister is just barely considered a relation.

603 Sexual rivalry exists between grandfather and grandson, grandmother and granddaughter; this is why they defy and insult each other when they meet. When the grandparents die, the grandchildren have the same privileges as the sẽnanku [parties to a special kind of

603 alliance]. (It is also customary for grandfathers and grandsons to eat together, while the sons eat apart.)

612 601 c. By Marriage: T'ɛ̀, K'ɛ̀, Kɛ̀ = husband's name, corresponding to muso (muso, term for spouse [female?]).

Bira nk'ɛ̀ = father-in-law, son-in-law, brother-in-law, and all the male relatives of the husband or wife, corresponding to bira-muso = mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, and all female relatives of the husband or wife.

587 When a man dies, his wives go to his younger brother; and if a man's wife dies, he may marry her younger sister . . .

582 611 This patrilineal and patrilocal family must have grafted itself onto an ancient matrilineal system (see the chapter on inheritance and position of women). The systems of clan exogamy and endogamy are united: two pairs of brothers and sisters marry among themselves; sons must take their wives from their mother's family, and marriages take place between cross-cousins; children never belong to their parents' category, while grandchildren and grandparents always are in the same category.

583 [53] We shall see that alongside this matrimonial system in which wives are exchanged there exists a system in which payments are made to the fa of the young girl.

596 The size of the united family varies, but it may include more than 80 persons. Labouret (1) gives us, as an example, the composition

1. Op. cit.

of the blõ of Ngolo Traoré at Mpiéla, Kolokani subdivision:

	Men	Women	Children
1. Household of Ngolo	1	8	15
2. Household of Samba, Ngolo's brother	1	2	4
3. Household of Dotné, Samba's son	1	2	3
4. Household of Denkoro, son of deceased Bakoro	1	3	1
5. Household of Fabugai, Ngolo's son .	1	2	4
6. Quarters of unmarried males, all sons of Ngolo and Samba . . .	5		
	10	17	18 [sic]
		46	

596 The fa. -- The whole of this family obeys the same head: the fa. The fa is designated by a council of elders when he fulfills the following conditions: first, not to refuse the faya and to be a member of the community, that is, actually to live within the community; next, he must never have been a slave, and he must not have settled abroad without hoping to return home. In addition, he must be a legitimate child, that is to say, born in wedlock, and the firstborn. In principle, the faya passes from older to younger brother (in the classificatory sense of the term). Thus, the fa is always the member of each generation closest to the ancestor. Finally, the fa must be able, that is, healthy, active, and a good administrator. Often the fa designates his sucoessor before his death. The successor may assume power only 40 days after the death of the last fa, and after being recognized as head of the family by the assembly of elders. From that moment on, he exercises his functions, come what may.

[53] [84]

The fa has charge of, and the moral and physical responsibility for, the whole community. He directs and protects all the members of the family. These latter can escape his authority only by leaving the village for good; they are then considered to be dead members. (The descendants of the fa by his daughters are outside of the community; they belong to the patriarchal communities of their respective fathers.)

The fa, head of the family, lives under the administrative dependence of the head of the village.

2. From Family to Community

621 The true social unit is the community. Ties of kinship and marriage unite groups without racial or ethnic unity.

a. Patriarchal Organization of the "Ton." -- All the family
622 heads obey a village head: it is on him that the responsibility falls for the organization of the community territory, as well as the responsibility for administering justice when contention arises between followers of different faya. The village chief is generally master of the land: dugu-kolo-tigi; sometimes [54] he cedes his rights to a village administrative chief younger than himself, but in matters of religion he remains all-powerful, and each year he receives gifts from the different family heads for the needs of the common cult. He also

622 gives the orders concerning local celebrations and initiations.

In fact, the land originally belongs to spirits, and the chief 622 who succeeds the founder of the village is the only one who is able 776 to establish contact with the chief of the spirits and negotiate with him. He is the earthly administrator of the spirit; he assures his worship, the exploitation of the land, and the organization of the community territory.

621 The first chief of the land was the first occupant; the suc- 622 ceeding chiefs are his heirs, following the order of succession. To found a new village, a chief chooses a place in unoccupied territory, usually at a crossroads, near a water source, near a baobab, 718 a doubalé, or other sacred tree. He offers sacrifices to the spirits 824 and receives in exchange their authorization to settle. If his group prospers, and less fortunate families want to establish themselves in this well-favored location, they ask the chief for authorization. However, as Monteil (1) remarks: "... The fa of a familial community depends strictly on the patriarchy only if, attached to it by the male line, he holds some goods of the patriarchy or if he claims rights in this patriarchy. In the contrary case, the family fa conducts himself as a stranger in relation to the patriarchy, which can only treat him in like fashion ..." Every familial community becomes patriarchal at the death of the family head when he has no heirs (see the chapter on inheritance); the community then groups around itself familial communities which themselves include paternally related groups and maternally related groups. When the patriarchy is an old one, a considerable number of persons live under its aegis. All recognize dyamu and taboos (see below) in common.

1. Monteil, Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta [The Bambara of Ségou and Kaarta].

621 When the settlement becomes too populous, a fa gathers a 631 group and founds another village. Afterwards, the people of neighboring districts may solicit the patronage of the first village, by participating in its djo (2) and by sacrificing to its guardian spirits.

2. See the chapter on religion.

621 The cluster of all these villages forms a kafo or kafu (canton) which
631 includes the original family, its oldest neighbors, the inhabitants of other villages, and, finally, the outsiders. All these people acknowledge common interests, and the villages of the same canton send representatives to the assembly which meets at the chief's residence. Thus, the large family grows into a patriarchy to form the dugu (village) and spreads out into a kafu. Sometimes, after these branchings out, certain offshoot communities adopt a special dyamu and other taboos. The new dyamu is joined to the old, and little by little supplants it. The principal characteristics of the mother community exist, to which are added [55] various new traits, but the relationship between the two communities is never extinguished. Inversely, natives even of different races but having the same dyamu consider themselves related, which for them implies respect for the ancestral traditions concerning the cult, the practice of mutual aid, respect for the authority of the fa, who must protect all his relatives no matter how remote the connection, and fidelity to all pacts between the communities. Finally, between individuals of different races, certain dyamu, although dissimilar, are considered equivalent and may be interchanged.

621 b. Alliances. -- The unity of a community is founded not only upon common interests, which we will examine later, but also upon a whole system of alliances.

Monteil distinguishs four types of alliance: the common cult (see the chapter on religion), marriage, the tné, and the oath.

621 Marriage: this is the most common form of alliance. When
581 a Bambara seeks an alliance with a family, he gives his daughter in
583 marriage to one of the members of that family, after providing her with a large dowry. Some interesting information on this subject is furnished us by Monteil (1). The alliance between two families

1. Monteil, Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta. Les Empires du Mali [The Bambara of Ségou and Kaarta. The Mali Empires.]

is reinforced still further when they establish the custom of exchanging women. In this way the Soninké family Niakaté allied itself to the

621
581 Koulibali of Ségou, founded Bamako, and changed its name to Niaré
583 in becoming Bambara.

The tné: the taboo concerning an animal or some object.
621 The basis of this alliance is the oath of the fa not to kill or eat the
784 object of the taboo. All the generations following this ancestor must respect the taboo ad infinitum.

Thus, the Kéita have the hippopotamus for tné; the Traoré, the Dambélé, and the Warata have the panther; the Samaké, the elephant; the Koubilali of Ségou, the hippopotamus; those of Issa Ber, the m'polio [a fish]; others have the mole cricket (n'gere) and the striped mouse (n'kelika); the Niaré, Sisé, Silla, Doukouré, and the Daramé, the python, etc.

The oath: this seals a pact of dyonge fraternization. Each
621 party to the contract extracts some drops of blood from his forearm
608 which is mixed with goat's milk. Swearing by his ancestors, he states the conditions of the alliance and drinks part of the beverage. This alliance binds the parties to it and all their descendants ad
[582] infinitum. It entails a prohibition or, contrariwise, a recommendation of marriage between members of the two communities, and establishes solidarity between the two communities which owe each other mutual assistance. In the framework of this alliance is the cathartic alliance termed sénankuya, which, besides the preceding obligations, governs the system of purifications.

The sénankuya: unites certain specific groups bearing diffe-
621 names within the same village, but can also have an intertribal
608 character; ex.: Mandingue-Peul. Humblot observed the following
648 alliances at Kankan: Kéita-Fofana; Kondé-Traoré; Kéita-Béreté-Sérigou-Sissé; [56] Kala-Kéita-Kouyaté; Kourouma-Koma; Kourouma-Dabo; Kourouba-Konaté-Kamara-Bagayoko; Konaté-Dougoumoko; Konaté-Sidibé. This system of alliance in which
[783] the two allies are equal and complementary governs the mechanism of the purifications, notably by the insult, and the duties of reciprocal assistance (1). Formerly, when a sénanku was reduced to slavery,

1. M. Griaule, "L'alliance cathartique" [The Cathartic Alliance], Africa, Vol. XVIII, 1948.

608 his ally had to try to ransom him. A sénanku often serves as inter-
621 mediary in arranging marriages, in land claims, in the collection of
648 debts. He is rewarded by gifts. He has the power to stop quarrels and to oppose acts of rage and violence by the man whose sénanku he is, no matter what his rank and no matter how important the decisions in question are. The sénanku of a Fama could prevent his declaring war or condemning to death one of his subjects. Moreover, he has certain limited privileges over his ally's possessions. (He may appropriate unimportant objects, food, and even sums of money.) Finally, he recruits the labor force which his ally may need.

c. Age Classes. -- But though these different ties exercise an
621 important influence on the political, social, and religious life of the
571 community they are generally too broad and too lax to permit organiza-
561 tion of a work community. In fact, we have seen how a large village may be formed of different communities relatively independent of each other, despite the authority of the founding community's fa. On the level of the canton, the geographical dispersion does not permit the Fama to intervene personally in the organization of the work community. The latter is founded essentially on the system of relations of the age classes.

561 From infancy until circumcision for the boys, until excision for the girls, the young Bambara belongs to a hierarchic society which prepares him or her for this ceremony and which provides an education complementary to that received in the family. Within this association all the children are divided into age classes: boys up to six years of age are bilakoro-dogomani (bila = short pants), from 6 to 10 years they are bilakoro-dogoma, from 10 to about 15 years, bilakoro-koroba. Similarly, the girls are, successively: sunkiri-dogomani, sunkuru-dogoma, and sunkuru-koroba. Each age class has a chief: ton-tigi for the boys, musso-tigi for the girls; each office is doubled by a deputy (syere). There is also a treasurer and a ton-dyeli who is the griot of the ton. All are elected by members of the society. A Bambara will be influenced all his life by his membership in a certain age class which groups all the children who underwent circumcision at the same time. In fact, up to the moment of circumcision the child's personality is not yet distinct. We have seen before how small children were

561

considered as being in the same category as their grandparents; they are said to belong to the same age class.

561 [57] The relations between boys and girls before the ceremonies of circumcision and excision are governed by a sort of non-consummated marriage uniting the children of the different ton.

857 The little girl (ton-musso) must take care of the clothes and household of her infant husband (tontié); later she must decorate his house with designs he tells her to make. In return, her husband will give her gifts and will help cultivate her parents' field. When the girl marries in earnest, her tontié must himself give her to her husband. Throughout this false marriage, the young girl's virginity must be respected, and her tontié is held responsible for it.

561 Before their circumcision, all the children are affiliated according to their age classes to the brotherhood of the n'Tomo (see the chapter on religion). The oldest of the group will be the head of his class; all the little chiefs are subjects of the chief of the oldest group: the n'tomo-tigi and to his deputy, the n'tomo-tigi-syere. The brotherhood prepares the children for the circumcision initiation; it regulates the common work, the religious ceremonies, and the celebrations. It settles disputes that may arise between members.

561 The different ceremonies of the n'Tomo, which take place each 796 year after the harvest, have been described by Monteil (1) and by

1. Monteil, Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta [The Bambara of Ségou and Kaarta].

Tauxier (2). They include offerings, sacrifices to the guardian spirit,

2. Tauxier, La religion bambara [The Bambara Religion].

a communion, and masked dances followed by a lash from the ritual whip, which marks the definitive acceptance of the neophytes.

561 Later, those who have belonged to the same n'tomoya and who have undergone the soli together are united for life. They are fulani, that is to say, twins (they are born the same day to the sexual, social,

561 and religious life). The young men of the same soli form what is called a flambolo. Three consecutive classes of flambolo form a flanton. The women have a parallel organization. Each fulani is a ton-den (child of the ton), with a corresponding association.

561 The association's role, apart from the seasonal celebrations and the copious feasts, accompanied by a great deal of drinking, is 241 that of a mutual aid society and of a veritable village work coopera- 476 tive. It is organized, administered, and articulated with a view to the agricultural work. The chief, kariku, expedites current business, with the assistance of a syere (witness, deputy). He has a treasurer who receives offerings and makes payments, the femmaraba (he who preserves things), plus an honorary president and an adviser, chosen from among the notables and delegated by them; he must supervise the society and orient its activities.

This social organism rests, in the last analysis, on the exchanges of services initiated and supported by the kariku. He sees to it that help is forthcoming to a man making the customary work payments in the fields of his parents-in-law or future parents-in-law (in exchange for food and drink furnished by the parents-in-law to these ton-den). In like manner, a farmer asks the kariku for help in clearing a field of brush. This request is made through an inter- [431] mediary or a senanku who [58] accompanies the request with ten [824] kola nuts. The chief accepts the present and calls his council into session to study the affair technically and to fix the salary. The same procedure is followed for the winter weeding, which calls for rapid completion, as well as for building dams, irrigating canals, paths, roads suitable for carting, etc.

An analogous system exists for the female kari, for sowing the crops as well as for gathering the harvest, mutual domestic aid, etc. The two groups collaborate for the seasonal celebrations.

643 d. The Fama. -- We see that the canton is a grouping formed under the authority and influence of a dominant family. Its unity is determined by political, social, and religious laws which regulate it. The fa or head of the dominant family becomes the Fama, that is, the patriarch, chief of the canton. He then often renounces the administration of the faya, which he turns over to his second (syere),

643 so that he may keep separate the interests of his house and those of the country.

Nomination of the Fama. The title of Fama remains in the family around which the canton has grown. Power passes from older to younger brother until a generation dies out, then goes to the oldest brother in the next generation, for, as a general rule, the living male nearest to the original ancestor should reign. However, the history of Ségou shows us how certain Fama have tried to establish direct succession from themselves to their eldest son. But the
643 accession of the Fama is submitted to the ratification of a council
645 of notables which includes the following persons.

a. The young chiefs, male descendants in the first degree of the Fama; they are directed by the eldest among them, with the second eldest being his syere or heir presumptive.

b. The old masters who are the Fama's brothers.

c. Their sons and all circumcised fathers of families.

643 Power of the Fama. The power of the Fama is founded on custom and religion. He is the earthly representative of all the ancestors; he is the radiating center which gives life to all the society; he is the Word of his people. He decides the crops, regulates commerce, concludes alliances, declares wars, renders justice, imposes taxes. He is the guardian of custom and the legislator of new laws, the organizer of the time and space he governs. His word is very powerful and dangerous; his decisions are whispered in the
[326] ear of a blacksmith, who repeats them aloud to the assembly. His very glance makes his subjects tremble, and they approach him grovelling, forehead in the dust. No quarrel may break out in his presence, no violence committed; his power over men and goods is
[645 absolute. Nevertheless, all his decisions are taken after consultation
646] with the notables and with the assembly of delegates from each village. If one of the members of the assembly disagrees with the Fama about a point of law, he gets up and leaves the meeting without saying anything, marking his disapprobation in this manner. When a law is
[695] passed by all the assembly, each member swears an oath, on the tomb of an ancestor or the altar of the komo [one of the mens' societies], in behalf of himself and his descendants.

608 [59] No one may oppose the Fama's will, except his sénanku
643 who has the power to stay the chief's decisions, particularly in case of acts dictated by anger: murders, wars, etc.

643 The Fama's resources came from the work of his familiars,
651 from a levy on wild foodstuffs, half of the war booty, all otherwise
652 unowned goods, from certain precious substances, such as gold and ivory, from taking part of every animal killed in the hunt and the skins of all wild animals brought down, all receipts for the right to hold markets, for grazing, and for changing pastures, tolls for river crossings, fines, and from the sale of prisoners of the law. On the other hand, he had to meet the following expenses: to feed and clothe the members of the community in the case of need; to maintain the warriors (give them a groom, a wife, a rifle, a horse); bestow favors on people of caste, feed them, clothe them, arrange for their marriages if need be; make offerings to charity; receive strangers; feed prisoners detained for judgment or otherwise held.

643 The Fama ordered all work of common interest: construction
653 and maintenance of fortifications, clearing trails, preservation of springs, construction and upkeep of the mosque if one was needed, making pirogues for common use, setting up rest platforms.

These works were carried out through payments in labor. The work was divided up among the villages by the Fama, and the village chiefs in turn assigned it to family heads. He who did not carry it out in person could have it done by members of his family; he who refused could be obliged to comply by force.

642 Bambara society rarely achieved a systematic and centralized form of organization analogous to our European kingdoms. What has been dignified with the name of "empire" was scarcely more than an organization which reflected the attraction exercised by a family, by reason of its prestige or its power, on groupings which accepted its suzerainty. As Monteil has shown very well, a family's effort at domination has always been directed at groupings of people and not at territorial expansion.

642 The whole of these groupings constitutes the Ton. This in-
565 cludes:

1. a chief, the ton-tigi;
2. the local chiefs, fa;

642
565 3. the free men;

4. people of caste, such as blacksmiths, etc. (see below);

5. slaves.

567 e. Slavery. -- A man became a slave in three ways: by violence, by obligation, or by birth.

567 1. By violence. If a war captive is important, he may be
727 killed or he may be held for ransom and treated with consideration.
554 A Fama captured in war could become an army chief or dignitary in the country of his captor and could found a family there. In no case could he be reduced to captivity on his own territory.

[60] If the vanquished is a man of caste, he is spared captivity and generally enters the service of the conquering Fama;
[608] if he is a sénanku of the victor, the latter gets rid of him by freeing him. Finally, if the captive has the same name as the victorious
[55] Fama, he is freed, because he is recognized as being a relative of the Fama.

When the captive is a free man of humble origin, he is sold by the Fama, unless the Fama gives him to his warriors.

567 2. By obligation. A free individual became a slave in
681 punishment for his crimes or misdemeanors; he was then sold for the
426 profit of the Fama. A fa could sell one of his children to meet his
858 debts, but he subsequently had to try to buy him back once he was freed of his obligations.

567 3. By birth. A woman slave bears only slaves. The slave born in the house is called a wolo-so. If a woman slave is got with child by a free man, she becomes free, as does her child. But if the mother is repudiated, she reverts to slavery, while the child remains free.

567 As the number of slaves grew, their organization became
644 complicated and hierarchic. The slaves under the Fama of Ségou were divided into series, each having as chief the eldest of the slaves. The eldest of these chiefs became chief of the dyon-kuru or dyon-futu (ensemble of slaves). Monteil shows the important role this slave chief has played in the history of Ségou. In fact, he was the spokesman for all the grievances of the slaves and often became the Fama's adviser. At the death of the Fama, the slave chief confirmed the power of his successor by assuring him or refusing him the submission of all the slaves.

him, the submission of all the slaves.

567 The fa particularly displays his confidence in the wolo-so. He arranges his marriage, establishes him in life; admits him to his cult, and assigns him important tasks. Sometimes he marries his daughter and unites himself to him by fraternization and the oath. Children of the wolo-so are often circumcised with those of the master. Finally, the wolo-so bears his master's name and may in turn have slaves. At the third generation, the wolo-so becomes a free man. We still have very incomplete knowledge of this whole question of slavery, which incontestably exists throughout the whole Sudan; politically, it seems to have been a rational method of assimilating and fusing into a single people men of the most diverse origins.

567 f. The Army. -- Since the slaves were not pariahs, but, be-
701 cause of their number and the roles they filled, are important members of the society, it is normal that they also participated in the defense of the society. They have, therefore, their place in the army.

[72] Each Fama had an army, whose object was pillage, to procure the greatest possible amount of material goods for his subjects. The Fama despoiled those captives whom he enslaved, while others paid him tribute according to consecutive agreement. Ranged in battle, the army included the following components.

1. A central mass, disi (chest), made up of the corps of sofa (etymologically: those in charge of the care of the horses). The sofa formed the personal guard of the Fama; they were often recruited [61] from among young prisoners of war. The Fama often presided over the ceremony of circumcision of the children of the conquered whom he mixed in with his own children; they were thus bound and devoted to each other all their lives. The young sofa played the role of pages and grooms; the older ones became the trusted aides of the Fama, who charged them with important missions.

2. Two masses flanked the disi, to right and left: the kini-n-bolo (right arm) and the numa-n-bolo (left arm). These bolo were composed of furuba-dyon (age class of slaves corresponding to the flanton of the free men), and commanded by the ton-dyon (a sort of aristocracy of the slaves recruited from among the war prisoners).

567 701 3. The ton-koro-bolo behind the disi is a special reserve formed entirely of pure ton-dyon.

4. The keli-tigi was the chief of the expedition, designated by the Fama. He might be a dyon-kuntigi (chief of the furuba-dyon), a member of the Fama's community, or the Fama himself.

708 534 Finally, the army was accompanied by a musical corps, composed essentially of drums which transmitted messages. There were armpit drums (dunkan'), shoulder drums (taura), three-legged drums (dange), drums carried by two men (tabala), and coupled drums (denuba). Often horns (buru) were added, sometimes small horns made of ivory or horn, and sometimes xylophones (bada) and cowbells.

708 537 A dyeli (griot) follows the expedition to observe the exploits that he must retransmit; he must encourage the warriors and dispel panic by the power of his oratory.

B. Influence of Social Organization on Economic Life

a. The ton, Work Community

621 We have seen that the social unit among the Bambara is the community. The community is also the work unit and the economic unit. The independent individual is not conceived of. The community owns all the wealth which makes up the spiritual and material patrimony: the land, the agricultural, industrial, and commercial products, the habitations ...

423 621 622 609 [431] The community regulates the exploitation of the land. The dugu-tigi is the first occupant, master of the land, of which he distributes the lots to the different family heads. When a stranger, a family head, wants to enter into a community, he chooses an unoccupied field and asks the village chief for it. The request is accompanied by ten kola nuts and a chicken. Authorization cannot then be refused. The chief of the land sacrifices the chicken before the entire community and informs it of the installation of the newcomer. When the stranger wants to leave the land, he is given back his chicken and kola nuts.

423 621 622 Land assigned to a family head may always be taken back from him without justification by the dugu-tigi and his council.

423 621 622 Thus, the man holding the land can neither sell it nor take any action regarding it which would involve the interests of the whole community; but he can rent it out, pledge it, or [62] cede it, which leads to manifold disputes at the time of redistribution of the land in the case of cyclical cultures.

621 622 652 The dugu-tigi also prepares the community's budget. The resources include: gifts made to the gods, thanksgiving offerings for the hunt, for the fishing catch, and for the millet harvest, payments for concession of land or for services rendered, rent of community goods (fixed revenues or exceptional tribute), receipts from fines, confiscations, escheatage, and finally, the extraordinary aid formerly obtained for war, constructions, etc.

[65] 746 Among the expenditures are included the cost of supporting members of the community if need be, of maintaining the proper appearance, assistance to the sick, and, especially, the tax or tribute formerly paid to the sovereign, legitimate or not, and today paid to the French administration.

596 The family patrimony (tien) is administered by the fa, head of the family. A. Aubert (1) gives us the composition of this

1. A. Aubert, Coutume bambara (cercle de Bougouni) [Bambara Custom (Bougouni Circle)].

patrimony which includes: "Rights on the lands cultivated by the community; animals; serfs; money owed and money owing; the dowries of the daughters and women who are issue of members of the settlement; the inheritances; the dwellings of the settlement and their furnishings; the foodstuffs of the communal granaries (foro-ba), and, in general, all wealth resulting from the communal work of the family members."

Moreover, the fa must: "see to the material life of all the members of the family; provide dowries for the women of the community; pay back the dowries of the women of the community who are to be divorced; ransom members of the family who are taken prisoner or are sold, and pay taxes in goods or in money."

b. Organization of Work

241 621 Work on the land is the only kind of work suitable for free men, for to work the land is to purify it. All agricultural operations [622 are set in motion by the dugu-tigi and are regulated by the fa who 516] assigns tasks by age classes. Each member of the community must work for it every day, except Monday and Thursday, from dawn to about 4:30 p.m. He may be helped, or even replaced, by his children and his captives. The rest of the time he may work for himself in his personal field or in the little fields situated along the water courses and the rivers, which are not periodically redistributed and are considered almost as personal and hereditary property. The fruit of this labor constitutes the personal savings of the community member.

316 423 The exploitation of the subsoil is governed by other rules which we still know only imperfectly. Like the soil, the subsoil belongs to the master of the land. Iron ore was extracted solely by the [324] blacksmith who paid the master of the land a rent in the form of hoes or axes. To exploit the gold mines, thousands of natives went in family groups to the placers at the beginning of the dry season. [63] The location of the placers was determined by the priests and changed every year. The men dig multiple small holes very close to each other, which may go very deep depending on the depth of the barren layer. When the calabashes of gold-bearing earth are brought up, the women wash the earth. The placers are abandoned at the beginning of the rains after three or four months of exploitation. Before the French occupation, gold was the exclusive property of the Fama and could in no case be the object of commerce. To- [439] day, gold is generally sold at the placers to Syrian, native, or European merchants, who have established veritable shops at the mining centers, shops which contain everything necessary for the miner's life.

463 554 The exercise of a profession other than the cultivation of the land is reserved to artisans who are accorded the insulting name of nyaman-kala, for only work on the land is noble work. These artisans form separate families in every Sudanese society, which has caused Europeans to call them, improperly, people of caste. They are divided into independent guilds.

463 554 [324] The numu: blacksmiths, whose wives are generally potters. The smiths are the masters of fire, those who cook the sacred earth in order to extract the minerals or to fix the form of pottery.

The loro: coppersmiths.

The garanka: leatherworkers.

The kule: woodworkers, and sometimes saddlemakers.

The donso: hunters, who form powerful and feared associations.

The somono, or fishermen, who have a status a little less restricted than that of the artisans mentioned above.

The dyeli or griot, domestic factotums of a kind, who, although the most disdained of all these, are nevertheless the family archivists.

[563] One may add two Peul shepherd tribes, identified by Manson: the Dyanna and the Bouguena (1).

1. See Monteil, Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta [The Bambara of Ségou and Kaarta].

463 564 All of these artisans are endogamous and fixed in caste, father to son. However, the fact that a man belongs to a caste does not obligate him to exercise the caste trade.

326 463 609 The most powerful guild is incontestably that of the blacksmiths. From their ranks are recruited all the priests, the Fama's interpreters, the well-diggers, the grave-diggers, the executioners, the circumcisers, etc. They are the sénanku of all the families and are in charge of all the purification rites.

554 The griot are equally feared, because of the power of their words and because they spread afar the renown of the chiefs.

564 The free man who marries a woman of caste marries beneath himself, and his children are looked down on.

[324] [727] The purest blacksmith families are those of the Fané Balo; the purest griot those of the Koniaté. People of caste always remain at liberty; when they are captured during a war, they make themselves known and keep their status.

463 326 [64] These different guilds are sufficient to maintain in the Bambara country a certain industry of a distinctly artisan and non-specialized type. Thus, the smiths work iron, copper, and wood to

463 make tools, farming implements in current use, furnishings, orna-
326 mental objects, bracelets, different kinds of rings. They also work gold and silver to make jewelry in filigree.

462 Weaving and basket-making are not done by the people of
286 caste, but by all men, or, formerly, by their house captives.
285 Primitive looms, worked by treadles, are set up outside of the houses in the shade of the trees. The men weave long bands of cotton for making clothes, loin-cloths, and blankets. These bands, several meters long, are sometimes made into rolls weighing as much as 30 kilograms and are carried off to market by the diula [531] (itinerant merchants). The Bambara practice dyeing, batik, and embroidery (done by the men).

433 All this industry remains of strictly local interest and is directed solely toward meeting the immediate needs of the community.

c. Division of Labor

462 The Bambara are essentially an agricultural people. Never-
857 theless, as all members of the society must contribute a certain amount of work to the community, the nature of this work varies according to the social classes and according to whether a man, a woman, or a child is involved. The following tables indicate how the work is divided.

1. Distribution of tasks according to A. Aubert.

Men	Women	Children	All
	Foodstuffs		
	Preparation of food and dolo (beer)		
	Sale of dolo		
Preparation of hives, setting them, gathering the honey	Bottling and sale of honey	Helping	

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Men	Women	Children	All
Smoking of the meat	Harvest of karite and its preparation	Harvest	
Slaughtering the animals (work reserved for smiths)			
	Construction of the hut		
Masonry	Drawing and carrying necessary water	Carrying water (girls)	
Cutting and carrying straw and bamboo		Carrying straw (boys)	
Roofing			
Plastering exterior	Plastering interior	Pounding the threshing floor	
[65]	Hunting		
Preparation of the powder		Beating for game with dogs (boys)	
Hunting			
Training dogs			
	Fishing		
Preparation of fish traps and nets	Spinning	Fishing in ponds with bell-shaped traps	In case of draining a pond

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Men	Women	Children	All
	Care of the animals		
	Care and milking of cows	Helping (girls)	
	Farming		
Removing stumps			
Sowing	Sowing sometimes	Sowing sometimes	Generally speaking, all cooperate in working the land, which is the only noble work, for the Bambara is above all a farmer and maker of sacrifices.
Weeding	Weeding sometimes	Weeding sometimes	
Threshing the millet (fla-kɛ)			
Harvest of millet and fonio	Weeding of fonio	Helping	
Threshing millet			
Grubbing the peanuts	Gathering and husking		
Harvesting maize	Picking ears	Helping	
Threshing rice	Harvesting rice	Helping	
Planting sweet potatoes	Transplanting and harvesting	Helping	
Planting kidney beans	Harvesting kidney beans and peas	Helping	

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Men	Women	Children	All
Planting and harvesting manioc			
Profits from okra, da, and indigo go to the men	Okra: cultivation and harvesting Da: id. Indigo: id.	Helping Helping Helping	
Preparation of cotton lougan	Harvesting, picking out, spinning cotton	Helping	
Weaving, sewing, putting together	Sale, dyeing	Helping	
Preparation of tobacco lougan, preparation and sale	Watering, powdering, and retail sale of snuff	Helping	
Preparation of calabash lougan, harvesting, emtying, sale, and decoration		Gathering burgu for horses	
	Wells		
[463] Drilling by male smiths only	Drawing water	Helping (girls)	

Men	Women	Children	All
462			
463 [66]	**Furnishings**		
Beds, mats, secco [sic]	Canari [earthenware vessel supported by a tripod] (women of smiths' caste: preparation and firing)		
	Ironwork		
Male smiths, everything from extraction of the metal to sale			
	Jewelry		
Smiths			
	Leatherwork		
Shoemakers			
	Basketry		
All men without differentiation			
	Burial		
Each for his sex			
Digging grave	Preparation of water for purification and perfumes		
Carrying body			
Burial			

Men	Women	Children	All

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Circumcision and excision

Male smiths for the boys

Females of smiths' caste for the girls

Midwifery

All women past menopause

Religion

Koma and Dio reserved to men

?

Coiffure

[302] Men's heads are shaved by men

Women braid the men's hair where this mode of hairdressing survives

All the women's coiffures

Ropes

Preparation of fiber, drying, cording

Tanning

Male shoemakers

[67]

Rubber

[857] Sale

Gathering and preparation

462

Men	Women	Children	All

Medicaments

Preparation and application especially reserved to men	Rarely done by women if not to treat own sex

Religious Practice
(see Religion)

Reserved to men	Women rarely take part in sacrifices
[462] Make their personal sacrifices to the right of hut door (When one faces entrance)	Make their personal sacrifices to the left of hut door

2. Distribution of tasks according to Labouret.

Labouret, in Paysans noirs [Black Peasants], divides the work more specifically assigned to men and women as in the following table:

Men	Women	Common Tasks
Trapping	Gathering alimentary plants for domestic industry	
Maritime or deep-water river fishing	Shallow-water river fishing	
Preparation of the fish	Preparation and sale of the fish	Preparation and sale
Preparation of traps and hunting or fishing gear	Making women's fishing gear	

462

Men	Women	Common Tasks
Making arms and tools		
Hunting		
Agriculture: Clearing brush, hoeing, harvesting, constructing granaries and drying sheds.	Agriculture: Collaboration with men on these tasks; the men do work requiring strength. Sowing.	Agriculture
Handicrafts: Stone, wood, iron, copper, basketry, weaving, sewing.	Handicrafts: Basketry, plaiting or spinning, pottery, dyeing scents, perfumes.	
Construction and maintenance of the house	Construction and maintenance of the house	Construction and maintenance of house
Commerce	Commerce	Commerce
Raising domestic animals	Preparation of food, plus wood and water	
	Keeping house	
	Raising poultry	

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462 Labouret hastens to add that there is close collaboration everywhere. Thus, when the husband fells the trees and cuts them up, the [68] wife and daughters pile the branches and burn them in a corner of the field. Then, when the earth has been turned by the men with their large hoes, the women break up the clods, level and loosen the soil for sowing.

241 462 [411] [408] After the men have cleared the big weeds, the women come along to finish up. At harvest time, the women and children chase the birds from the fields with loud cries, sling shots, and by heating bamboo on a hard rock to cause a detonation. All chase the sparrows, partridges, guinea-fowls ... Harvesting is done together ...

In addition, by the side of the men's fields there are little women's fields where the women cultivate sorrel, okra, eggplant, tomatoes, beans, and all the condiments. The accessory crops of the women are the raro, bananas, manioc, sometimes rice or peanuts (1).

1. Labouret, Paysans noirs [Black Peasants].

241 565 567 Naturally, the work varies according to the social order. The Bambara divide themselves into free men, people of caste, and, formerly, slaves, all having a chief at their head. All members of the community must work the land; in fact, the poor work more than the slaves. The more fortunate do little work; they formerly directed and controlled the work of the slaves, today that of the agricultural workers.

C. Legal Procedure: Inheritance, Land Ownership

692 In Bambara country today, as in all of French West Africa, justice is dispensed by two tribunals: that presided over by a justice of the peace for important affairs, and that presided over by the administrator for other cases. The justice of the peace renders justice following the French code; the administrator according to local custom. A chamber of the Court of Appeals of Dakar is represented at Bamako, whose jurisdiction includes the Sudan and Niger territories. The Assize Court holds a session at Bamako, which also possesses an inferior court. Justices of the peace of wide jurisdiction are found at Kayes, Gao, Mopti, Ségou, Sikasso, Bougouni; other justices of the peace with wide jurisdiction have been created and will soon take up their functions.

One easily imagines the conflicts of principles and method which may arise between the two sorts of tribunals have just indicated.

692 In matters of justice, the Bambara frequently continue to consult their old tribal judges. It must be noted, however, that in taking [177 622] away the judicial competence of the old chiefs, the French administration has contributed to diminishing, and almost to completely destroying, their power.

671 The Bambara had a judicial organization quite as precise and regulated as their religious organization, although there was no codified law, such as the Koran or the Hebrew tables of law. Justice was rendered according to rules which each community passed on from generation to generation. These rules are not of divine origin, but they [69] are sacred nevertheless, for custom is the legacy of [643 645] the ancestors. The Fama and his council of notables could promulgate new laws, but, before deciding on a new rule, they consult the Komo and the Nyama [an altar]. Then, in the presence of a priest, each one swears on the altar to obey the law which becomes sacred. Moreover, the customary rules cannot be separated from the moral code and the religion to which they are linked. They are not uni- [184] form; each canton has its own, and often each village, and within each of these there are observances peculiar to certain families or to certain castes. Nevertheless, the sentiment of fair play is very strong [181] among the Blacks, but they do not admit the equality of men, who are naturally different one from another according to their aptitudes, means, and condition.

Custom regulates all relations between individuals and between individuals and the collectivity.

692 Two sorts of native tribunals existed in the Bambara country: a tribunal of conciliation, presided over by the village chief, who assembled a council of notables; and a high tribunal presided over by the Fama, to whom were submitted the matters which the first tribunal had been unable to settle. In addition, the Fama could call before his tribunal the civil or penal matters which seemed to him to be of importance to the public order.

695 643 Justice was without charge and rendered day and night by the Fama as one of his essential functions, for the judge is the one who repairs the disorders that shake society. The hearings were solemnly conducted and took place under the silk-cotton tree (Ceiba pentandra)

695 or in the chief's vestibule, that is to say, under the light of a certain
643 constellation and witnessed by the founding ancestors who link the judge with the supernatural powers. The Fama was seated on a throne perched on a platform; at his right were the notables, at his left the griot, the priests, and the old captives; behind him stood the
[95] sofa. The blacksmith or a captive repeated aloud what the Fama whispered, for the Fama should not raise his voice. Neither women nor children could attend the public sessions. Formerly, the mere view of the Fama filled the accused with terror, and he prostrated himself in the Fama's presence. The Fama could put the accused in irons until he was judged (1).

1. V. Paques, "L'estrade royale des Niare" [The Royal Platform of the Niaré] Bull. de l'Ifan, Vol. XV (1953), No. 4.

671 Bambara law sought above all to make reparation, to restore order, and only after that to punish.

a. Proofs (2)

2. Passim. Coutumier juridique de l'A.O.F. [French West African Common Law].

695 The plaintiff must prove his case, and the accused must prove his innocence. Elements of proof may be confession, testimony by witnesses, oath taking, expert opinion, and examination of the scene.

If indications of guilt are strong enough, the Fama may force the accused to confess by having him whipped.

Each party may call witnesses in the following order: circumcised men, married women, unmarried girls (who, however, cannot [70] take the oath), and, lastly, children if there are no
[608] other witnesses. The sénanku are exempted from bearing witness against each other.

695 False testimony is punished by confiscation of all goods and [687] arrest of the whole family; part of the goods goes to the victim. If the witness refuses to take the oath, his refusal is evidence against the party that called him. When the parties in a trial disagree, the Fama makes one swear on the Komo, on his platform, or on the tomb of the group's founding ancestor. When the oath has been pronounced, the adversary may efface it by taking the oath in his turn. Then judgment will be suspended; but before 40 days have passed the perjurer must die.

[687] Anyone who attempts to suborn a witness or a child will be punished in the same fashion as the false witness.

The Fama must assign to one or several notables the mission of examing the scene where the disputed incident took place; he may designate a notable to examine and evaluate the damages. Once their mission is accomplished, the notables are subject to the same obligations as the witnesses.

693 The role of defense attorney was taken by one of the Fama's 695 advisors, a relative, a griot, a blacksmith, or a favorite of the Fama, he who "speaks best." The accused, or someone from his family, approached the prospective defender and offered him a gift, asking him to intervene in his favor. But the counselor had only the power to save the life of the condemned who had to pay a settlement; all punishments other than death were applied.

625 Police functions were carried out by the sofa and by members of the brotherhoods.

b. Punishments

681 The punishments were, in order of descending importance: death, being put in irons permanently or for a set time, the whip, the fine, confiscation of the family, confiscation of goods, sale to the slave traders.

Murderers and inveterate brigands had their heads cut off; [562] spies had their heads shattered by an axe or were bludgeoned (like dogs). A woman was never executed. The Fama who had a woman put to death would have seen his kingdom disappear.

All those condemned to irons were imprisoned in a hut, immobilized, the feet hobbled by a bar fixed to a ring; the patient

681 survived hardly more than 15 days of this punishment. The whip was applied publicly; the lashes, whose number was fixed by the Fama, were given with either a full swing of the arm or by the forearm only. Fines had to be paid immediately, or else the condemned was held for security until his family liquidated the debt.

672 681 The family of a man who had committed a crime or fault was held responsible and could be confiscated and sold; the confiscation of persons involved the confiscation of goods. All those who worked together under the authority of the same head could be confiscated, but not maternal uncles, paternal and maternal aunts of the culprit, nor his married relatives or those on the point of marrying. The confiscation was to the profit of the Fama who compensated the victims. Confiscation [71] of goods includes all furnishings, but not lands or dwellings.

681 Whoever was condemned to slavery had to be sold outside of the country, to the profit of the Fama. It was a practical method of ridding the land of all undesirables.

Finally, any second offender had his punishment doubled.

c. Examples of Condemnations

682 684 685 847 Homicides are condemned to death, but involuntary homicides or cases of legitimate self-defense are excused. A murderer's accomplice is subject to the same penalty as the murderer. One who receives a criminal or stolen goods is punished in the same fashion as the culprit. Rape of a child is punished by death, of a young girl by being put into irons after having paid reparations to her fiancé. A woman who puts her bastard to death will be excused, for her husband may have required her to do it; if she kills her legitimate child, she is punished by death, but not executed. A woman who has an abortion is publicly whipped; when she causes an abortion in another woman, she is condemned to death. A man who usurps the title of a function to which he is not entitled is put to death, as is the charlatan and the sorcerer. Theft of gold is punishable by death; theft of household objects is compensated for by a fine. If, during a brawl between two villages, a member of one village is killed, the aggrieved village designates an individual in the other village to be put to death. If there are several deaths on both side, the number of deaths in the two villages is equalized.

683 687

689 Public violation of decency is punished by death.

684 For adultery, the man is put in irons and pays a fine, the woman is whipped by her husband, her brothers, or the Fama's police. Relations with a woman in mourning draws public scorn on the guilty, while a man who commits adultery with a pregnant woman is put to death. A captive who is the lover of his master's wife is put to death.

689 Vagrant individuals are presumed to be escaped captives and are handed over to the Fama.

735 Finally, begging is authorized, because, say the Bambara, it is better to have begging than stealing.

d. Responsibility

[608] The Fama judges all his subjects, except his own sénanku whom he has judged by his tribunal. The law is applicable to every circumcised man and excised woman recognized as sane. (The demented are put in irons.) They are responsible for their acts, but the family of the guilty is also responsible. The father of an uncircumcised boy is responsible for the boy's acts, the husband for the acts of his wife, and we have seen that a man's crime may lead to the punishment of his whole family. Let us further remark that a master was judge of his slave, but when a difference arose between slaves of different houses, their case was referred to the tribunal. The tribunal also weighed the death penalty [72] when a slave committed a grave fault. Finally, the foreigner who lives in the Bambara country is judged by Bambara laws.

672 692 567 [609]

672 We must also note that the penalties apply to all crimes committed voluntarily; every infraction or damage involuntarily committed is excusable on the condition that it be immediately confessed. Thus it is that a hunter meeting a pair of lovers in the bush may kill them for outraging public decency, but must admit his crime immediately upon returning to the village.

[684]

e. Inheritance

428 Monteil has noticed an order of succession in the Ségou region which does not correspond to that described by other authors, such as Ortoli or Aubert. In fact, at the death of the fa, " ... everything that belonged to him remains undivided under the new faya of

428 his oldest son. If there are only daughters, the goods are divided among them. Secondly, if there are no children, the heirs are the collateral males, or, in the absence of these, the collateral females. Third in line, if there are no collateral relatives, are relatives of preceding generations. In default of these, the fourth in line is the surviving spouse. If there is none, the estate is without heir, it goes to the head of the settlement (the dugu-tigi) when the settlement is an independent one, to the Fama in the contrary case (1)."

1. Monteil, Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta [The Bambara of Ségou and Kaarta].

428 587 562 In the Bougouni region, Aubert distinguishes two orders of succession: "First, that which concerns disposition of the women, second, that which concerns disposition of the privileges and wealth of the faya ... as far as the disposition of women is concerned, the men succeed each other in the following order: 1. the younger brother in order of primogeniture; 2. the men of the following generation in order of primogeniture; 3. the Fama ... And as far as wealth is concerned: 1. the oldest brother; 2. the son (always in order of primogeniture); 3. the father; 4. the younger brother in order of primogeniture; 5. the oldest relative; 6. the Fama." (2)

2. Aubert, Coutume bambara (cercle de Bougouni) [Bambara Custom (Bougouni Circle) [.

Women can neither inherit nor transmit.

428 For the Bamako circle, Ortoli sets forth the following rules of succession: " ... Only men, in the following order, have rights of succession: 1. full brothers of the deceased in order of primogeniture, 2. half-brothers on the father's side in the same order; 3. sons of the deceased in the same order; 4. nephews of the deceased in the same order and following the order of primogeniture of the full and half-brothers (on the father's side); 5. grandsons and grandnephews following the same rule of order; 6. the village; 7. the Fama ... But as concerns the personal patrimony, the order of inheritance is as follows: 1. younger full brothers in order of primogeniture; 2. younger half-brothers on the father's side in order of primogeniture;

428 3. and 4. as above for the head of the family; 5. oldest full brother; 6. oldest half-brother on father's side; 7. the family; 8. the village; 9. the Fama ... Married women may transmit personal property in the following order: 1. her oldest son; 2. her husband's oldest son by another wife; 3. the husband; 4. the woman's family ... [587] At the death of her [73] husband, a woman is not required to marry his heir." (1)

1. Ortoli, Coutume bambara (cercle de Bamako) [Bambara Customs (Bamako Circle)].

851 We should explain here the notion of seniority which is not always easy to distinguish in a polygamous society. As a matter of fact, when two wives of the same husband bear children at roughly the same time, an intermediary announces the births to the fa, and the first baby to be announced is considered to be the oldest. It may even happen that the first one to be announced is in fact the last-born; he nevertheless remains the senior. In the case of twins, the senior [845] is the one brought forth last, for it is thought that twins are not conceived at the same time, and that the last-born is the one first con- [551] ceived. Certain special names are used for the oldest children: N'tyi for boys, Nya or Nyélé for girls.

643 At the Fama's death, several lines of succession are involved: that of his own family, that of the family community, and that of the patriarchy.

As far as election to the title of Fama is concerned, we have seen how the new Fama was the senior male of the same generation and same family as the deceased Fama, or the eldest of the following generation. It is noteworthy that in the case of no male heir, the succession passes to the Fama's daughter whose husband governs in her name; but that is an exceptional case.

643 644 When the new Fama is designated by the notables, he occupies the fortified residence of the previous Fama, where the founding ancestor is buried; the women and children of the deceased Fama must leave these premises. While his father lived, the Fama's eldest son led a luxurious and independent life; he often commanded an important dugu, sometimes founded by himself. At his father's death, he is a very important person for the new Fama.

422 The idea of transferable property is complex in native law.
423 The distinction between movable and immovable goods is often difficult to establish; the huts of uncertain durability are easily moved, while a Fama's throne is attached to a fixed site and cannot be considered movable.

Land ownership poses problems still more complex. We have
423 seen that land is never sold. The lands have a primary owner who is the spirit of the bush or a mythical ancestor, a possessor who is the first occupant having concluded a pact with the master of the soil, and, finally, a detainer who has received the land in usufruct from the possessor. The detainer is a family head, and the field he has received belongs to his community which exploits it. But after long years of working the land, the detainer tends to consider himself the owner of it, and when he leaves it during a cycle of crop rotation, it sometimes happens that the land's possessor bestows the
[578] detainer's old vacant field on a newcomer, which gives birth to interminable disputes between the old and new cultivators. We have seen elsewhere how certain plots of land particularly well-placed on river banks or near huts were meticulously [74] cultivated. These tend to become veritable private property which families hand down from one generation to the next. In addition to the family fields, there exist fields reserved to certain brotherhoods, such as the n'Domo or the Gna, the members of which work the fields to meet the needs of the cult. Finally, two days each week each community member has the right to cultivate his own personal field which is outside the control of the family. These fields take on more and more importance with the development of a sense of individualism and with it a sense of individual property.

We see, then, that land may be meted out for the benefit of family, religious, or interfamily groups, or for the benefit of individuals. Although none of the parties holding the land are acknowledged as owners, they make use of it as if they were the masters and go so far as to transmit it to their heirs.

It must be noted that a special law exists to regulate the possession of trees and the gathering of their fruits, and the trees are not necessarily connected legally to the fields where they grow. Certain trees, the home of spirits, belong to a certain family, while others, such as the karite, are common property, and their fruits belong to the collectivity.

D. Position of Women

562 Women's society has remained much more impenetrable to European civilization. Women very rarely go to French schools, and unlike the men, who, during their military service and otherwise, are partly immersed in our system of civilization, they have few contacts with the Whites and appear to be even more attached to custom than their husbands. Very few speak French, and for all these [191] reasons their society has remained closed and very imperfectly known to the Whites.

562 Reasoning from what is known of their juridicial situation, we 858 have deduced their inferior position. Perhaps a better knowledge of their role and of their importance in the society will lead us to very different conclusions. From the legal point of view, a woman is always a minor; she belongs first to her own community, to which she owes obedience, then to her husband's community. When the marriage is legal, that is to say, when the husband has paid the matrimonial settlement, the children belong to the husband; if not, in the case of concubinage, the woman's family can claim the child, because it belongs to the family, as does everything of the mother's.

562 Her marriage is decided on by the fa; although in practice 582 the woman is often consulted indirectly beforehand, and she has a 583 certain liberty in her choice. Even a slave can refuse to marry her master, despite gifts and promises. But a woman is forbidden to marry someone she considers a relative, that is, someone who belongs to her paternal line and who bears the same name she does. Exogamy is the rule.

562 Yet, when a woman marries, she keeps her paternal name and her personal taboos; sometimes she adds her name to that of her son, 593 who normally bears the dyamu of his father. The woman remains very attached [75] to her family and goes to stay with them often. Among them she will find support in case of a difference of opinion [586] with her husband. In case of divorce through the fault of the husband, he loses all rights over the wife as well as the settlement he had paid.

595 In the system of polygamy, the first wife is mistress of the house; the other wives gather at her place for meals. She distributes [431] the husband's presents, but aside from these privileges, the rights of the wives are equal as are those of their children.

562 When the husband dies, the wives are considered the principal
428 wealth of the heir. Among certain Bambara, the wives are divided
768 among the brothers; the eldest brother chooses and then has the other
567 brothers choose in order of age. Among others, the heritage goes to the children who must ally themselves with their father's wives. The wives who do not want to remain with the heir have the option of returning to their families, providing the settlement is returned.

428 The wife may have personal property given to her by her
562 parents at the time of marriage. Among certain Bambara, the father of the bride must give her the settlement paid by the husband, and this becomes her personal property. When a widow dies, all of her goods go to her eldest son; if there is no son, half of her goods goes to her daughters, and the other half is divided among her father, her mother, and her brother. When a married woman dies without children, her goods are divided between her husband and her father; if she no longer has her father, half goes to her husband and the other half to her brothers and sisters.

On the other hand, we have seen how a woman may inherit all of the wealth of a family head, and even of a chief, in default of male heirs, and the Mali empire had a woman Keïta at its head, daughter of Naré, fa Maghan.

562 A woman must not take part in any political discussion or
662 demonstration, which does not mean that her role in these matters is nil. All the history of Mali is full of palace intrigues which reach their acute stage at the moment of a Fama's death and of the election of a new chief. It is at this moment that the women knew how to throw into the balance all the weight of their family's power to determine the new election.

562 Finally, we have seen that in a fashion parallel to the male
561 brotherhoods and societies, the women were organized into powerful
575 hierarchical societies according to their age classes and their degree of initiation. These societies, where men do not enter, are still imperfectly known, but they are at least as formidable as the male brotherhoods.

562 The woman must pound the millet, draw water, and carry out all the household chores, but when the man kills an animal, the meat belongs to the wife, and the man must accept in turn what she will give him.

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[76] II. Present Evolution of Bambara Society

A. Political Evolution

648 636 At the present time, all the territory of the Sudan is unified and endowed with a political organization permitting it to play an active role within the framework of the French Union. The Sudan, like each of the eight territories of French West Africa, is represented in the National Assembly, in the Senate [Conseil de la République], and in the Assembly of the French Union by elected members. These members have been chosen from among the sons of former slaves or people of caste as well as from among the sons of former chiefs.

The administrative organization is placed under the authority of a governor general, seconded by two councils: the High Council of West Africa and the Government Council. At the head of the territory is a governor who is the administrative chief of the territory; he is assisted by a secretary general, named, like the governor, by decree, and by a civil and military cabinet which transmits the governor's orders.

Finally, the circles are directed by colonial administrators directly responsible to the governor. The circles are divided into subdivisions headed by assistant administrators who are directly responsible to the circle administrators. They are charged with the general administration and control of all the civil and financial functions of the circle.

Each circle is divided into cantons based on the territorial divisions of the old military districts. A canton has a head sometimes named by the administration but generally elected according to the traditional custom of the old Fama. The canton head is charged with representing the interests of the natives before the administration.

B. Tendency to Economic Change

177 The principal transformation in the Bambara economy stems from the French pacification and from the contributions of the European social and economic organization.

a. Urbanization

166 177 369 The Bambara, who are essentially agriculturalists, have no cities. All the cities owe their origin to the Whites and were created for commerce, administration, industry, banking, and education. But the city has exercised the same attraction on the Black peasant as it has on the French one. This taste for city life has been made easier to indulge by the creation of railroads and roads. Cities, such as Bamako, are invaded by ever-increasing populations who leave the bush and the close-knit community to create a de-tribalized mob which adapts more or less well to a European economic organization. Thus, the industrial equipping of Africa tends to transform the native artisanry, because the industrial establishments of the European type require a specialized [77] labor force that will adopt French work methods and economic life. It is in this way that the railroad yards at Thiès were created, as well as the industries of construction in solid materials, the quarries, the brickyards, the limeworks of Bamako, Mopti, and Ségou, and the food industries: icehouses, waterworks, the cotton gins of Koutiala and Sikasso. Industrialization is just beginning in the Bambara country, but the European form of economic organization has spread widely even where native work methods exist, leading, as a result, to economic individualism.

b. Development of Large-scale Agricultural Exploitation

177 241 473 Agricultural exploitation itself has been radically transformed in certain regions. Side by side with food crops which vary according to the needs of the community and which are cultivated in the traditional extensive manner, an intensive monoculture of money crops has developed with peanuts, rice, cotton, etc. This has been made possible by modern techniques of agricultural exploitation: experimental gardens, centers of scientific research, creation of pilot sections, scientific management of the plains. This development has led to the creation of such organizations as the C.G.O.T. in Casamance, a company for diversified economy whose initial capital was underwritten by the State and by professional processors of fatty substances. This company clears and de-stumps the great forest brush with heavy tractors, bulldozers, treedozers, and strumpers [de-stumpers ?] in

177 order to cultivate peanuts, sunflowers, millet, and cotton. Every
241 three years, the company distributes green manure crops in order to
473 reconstitute the soil's humus. Moreover, the company has created veritable villages to house its technicians and the colonists.

177 Other organizations, such as the Niger Office, have charge
241 of the basic water control of the central delta (dams, large canals).
312 Thanks to the creation of a network of waterways, to the clearing
433 and de-stumping of lands, and to the development of general equipment (processing factories, workshops, stores, dwellings, road network), the end of 1949 saw 11,000 hectares of rice fields, with a yield of 18 quintals of paddy and a commercial production of 8,000 metric tons of husked rice. Six thousand hectares have been prepared either for growing cotton (2,000 hectares), for growing rice for food (1,000 hectares), or for lying fallow (3,000 hectares). These fields
[166] permit the exportation of 360 metric tons of cotton fiber. Twenty-two thousand persons have been settled as colonists. Finally, let us note that the F.I.D.E.S. by its financial support has permitted the development of peanut cultivation in Senegal, of rice in Guinea and the Sudan, of karite in Upper Volta, as well as the creation of several technical schools.

c. Social Consequences

177 This technical evolution has profound repercussions on the
596 native way of life. We notice the same change in the Bambara
241 peasant as in the Bambara artisan. The large united family which was [78] the cornerstone of agricultural technique tends to split up more and more, even in the regions where the traditional farming methods are still used. The family field, a great deal less carefully tended than in the past, gives way in importance to the individual's field. Moreover, the family field traditionally was at the end of a path bordered by small individual fields where each peasant went to work for himself before and after the collective labor. Today, we see the creation of individual fields in the brush far from the path which leads from the village to the family field, clearly indicating the desire of the individual to separate himself from the large family and to escape the control of the farming chief in order to realize personal benefits for himself, not subject to family inspection.

177 Finally, the breaking up of the family cell is manifest in the in-
596 creasing number of children who prefer to work as farm laborers far
241 from their home country rather than submit to the tutelage of the farming chief.

177 The economic transformation proceeds due to electrification
377 (regulation of the great falls near Conakry and those of Sotuba near
489 Bamako) and the creation, alongside the old strategic roads, of commercial roads and bridges to facilitate shipping peanuts, rice, cotton, and millet. The ports and wharfs are being put in order, the railroad network being modernized (increasing the matériel, transforming beds and embankments, repairing the tracks, installing and extending yards, improving the depots, constructing stations, buffets, hotels, cheap housing for the employees). On the Niger, improvements are being made in the river ports of Koulikoro, Ségou, Mopti, Bamako, and Gao, and, on the Senegal, of Kayes and Saint-Louis.

177 Finally, the new economy is accompanied by social accomplishments in the fields of health, education, and urbanization.

d. Chambers of Commerce

Thus, two forms of economic organization exist side by side in Bambara country: on the one hand, the traditional and artisan native organization, and, on the other, the European organization which has shattered the ancient society and has put the local economy of the country within the framework of international economy.

177 But it is perhaps in the realm of commerce that the influence
441 of European methods has been most felt, particularly in the creation of Chambers of Commerce, Agriculture and Industry.

The creation of Chambers of Commerce dates from a decree of the Governor General in 1906. Members are elected for four years and are re-eligible. They are elected by an electoral college made up of the chiefs of French or African commercial establishments. The function of these Chambers is to give the administration advice and information when requested on any question of an economic nature.

The Chambers of Agriculture and Industry have substantially the same organization as the Chambers of Commerce, but in addition they are called on by the governors to group and codify the local customs [79] and usages of an agricultural character. These reports serve as the

177 basis of judicial decisions, and the Chambers also give advice on the
441 program of agricultural improvement undertaken by the administration and the welfare societies.

In Senegal, there are Chambers of Commerce, Agriculture and Industry at Dakar, Saint-Louis, Thiès, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor; in the Sudan, at Bamako; in Guinea and the Ivory Coast, at Conakry and Abidjan.

e. Work Regulation. Unions

464 Sparsely populated, West Africa lacks manpower. A decree of October 22, 1925, and an order of the Governor General of March 29, 1926, set the conditions by which workers could be recruited and work contracts established: salary, bonus, food, lodgings, medical care ... Individual or collective disputes between employers and employees are taken before arbitration boards presided over by a French employer and a native assistant judge.

An act of April 2, 1932, regulates the work of women and
464 children. One of March 11, 1937, organizes the trade unions, and
467 a decree of March 20, 1937, the native professional associations. Others regulate collective agreements applying to work. The National Assembly has voted the Overseas Work Code which is beginning to be applied. African unions have developed a great deal in the course of these last years; there are six African unions in the Sudan. The complexity of labor problems has led to the creation at Dakar of an office to inspect manpower problems, this office being attached to the General Bureau of Political, Administrative, and Social Affairs.

CHAPTER 7

CULTURAL ASPECTS

I. Religion

771 One can never insist too much on the importance of religion. It governs the entire social, political, artistic, and even economic life of the country. No institution can be understood without knowing

771 the religious system which animates and explains it. The Bambara is an essentially religious being; all his acts are dictated by ritual duties or taboos, and he finds his true liberty only within the rules transmitted to him by tradition. To destroy his religion amounts to destroying his whole social structure as well as his soul. Inversely, every transformation of techniques will have grave repercussions, not only on the material life of the individual, but also on his inner life. In fact, the religion is itself part of a whole cosmological and metaphysical system which explains and orders every existing thing. The simplest and poorest object is a reflection of complex concepts which leave nothing to chance or to imagination, and we arrive at the paradox that the technical progress and enrichment introduced by the European civilization impoverish the over-all metaphysical representation, while the social evolution ends in detaching the Bambara from his traditional religion and makes of him a rootless being who will be the prey of badly understood ideologies, foreign to his nature and to his genius.

114 771 L. Tauxier (1), pursuing the studies of Father Henry and

1. L. Tauxier, La religion bambara [Bambara Religion].

C. Monteil, has attempted a comprehensive description of Bambara beliefs. But in his exposition Bambara religion appears to be composed of disparate elements with no links between them. This impression is due in large part to the esoteric character of this religion, which certainly contains exoteric elements accessible to all, but whose fundamental principles remain known only to the elders and to the initiated who are reluctant to confide in strangers. The study of Bambara religion has been entirely renewed in these last few years by Mme. Dieterlen (2), who has known how to go beyond the superficial

2. G. Dieterlen, Essai sur la religion bambara [Essay on Bambara Religion].

knowledge we had had of this people. She has introduced us to an admirably cohesive metaphysical system and ritual organization [81] In fact, "the Bambara metaphysic and religion offer a structured whole

144 which encompasses all social, technical and economic activities" (1)
771

1. G. Dieterlen, Essai sur la religion bambara [Essay on Bambara Religion], P.U.F., 1951.

of this people. The myths are "a sum of knowledge, wisdom, and not a series of fixed etiological recitations. One may say that they constitute a metaphysic including the knowledge of created things, as well as the principles of their state of being and of their action." (2)

2. Id., ibid.

171 Thorough investigation of other Sudanese peoples has revealed that the
771 Bambara religion is part of a pan-Sudanese system in which differences lie in the modes of expression and not in the essence of the thought.

A. Cosmogony

772 The Bambara conceive the world as a mass of active forces which man can influence. Thanks to certain techniques, the pivotal one being the blood sacrifice, man may amass or liberate these forces, may direct and orient them; in short, man may have a hand in the movement of the world and may aid it in its consciousness and accomplishment. This central role of man is explained to us by the order of creation itself, which governs all the rites to which man is subject. The Bambara conceive the world as having issued from an
773 original void which was endowed with movement (3): the gla. This

3. Passim, Essai sur la religion bambara [Essay on Bambara Religion].

void emitted a voice which created its double, and from the couple came a humid substance, zo sumale (cold rust), which formed hard shining bodies. After a series of movements and transformations, there was an explosion between the two gla, which caused the ejection of a hard and powerful matter that vibrated as it fell. Out of this vibration came signs which settled on all the things as yet uncreated to designate them. Then, man's consciousness detached itself from the gla and settled on things to awaken their consciousness in naming them. In the

773 course of this creation, the active spirit Yo appeared, plus 22 fundamental elements, 22 whorls which agitated Yo and gave birth to sound, light, all beings, all actions, and all feelings in existence. Afterwards, a series of disorders followed by reorganizations came to trouble creation; man played a preponderant role in these.

Two initial powers were born of the spirit Yo: one, Faro, master of the Word, made the seven skies, which correspond to the seven parts of the earth in following a calculated course; Faro gave birth to Teliko, spirit of the air, then, in the form of water, spread life on the earth and created two twin females who gave birth to the Bozo, first inhabitants of the waters; the other power, Pemba, in moving with a whirling motion to the four cardinal points, created the mounds and buttes which give form to the earth. After seven years in his whirlwind form, Penba transformed himself into seed of the Acacia albida, came to rest on the [82] earth and developed into a tree, the balanze, which became his earthly avatar. Then, with the dust of his tracks mixed with his saliva, he created a woman, Musso Koroni, into whom he breathed a soul, ñi, and a double, dya; he joined with her and created the plants and animals.

Men rendered homage to Pemba and Mousso [sic] Koroni, who, in exchange, gave them directions for life. All the women had to join with Pemba; which is why Mousso Koroni, jealous, began to trouble creation and to sow disorder. She instituted circumcision and excision, and revealed to men all she had learned from Pemba. Communicating impurity to all she touched, she introduced evil, pain, and death into the world. Pemba pursued her; Faro overtook her but was unable to subdue her. Finally, she died, but before disappearing she revealed the agricultural techniques to man.

Pemba, in addition to the women's love, demanded the men's blood from which he drew his power. In exchange, he rejuvenated the men when they became old and taught them how to use fire. But he abused his power and exhausted the men, which caused his downfall. In fact, the men turned from worship of the balanza and devoted themselves to the cult of Faro. Faro impregnated the women, who gave birth to twins with supple limbs. But the men violated a taboo concerning Pemba, and death appeared and spread among them. To compensate for this misfortune, Faro taught them how to speak. Then, the spirit of the air, Teliko, attempted to seize power; the men

713 abandoned Faro to follow him. Faro vanquished him and punished men by giving them the joints used in manual labor, which all were forced to do. Births became single, but, in compensation, each being had a double, dya, which lived in water.

After these successive disorders, each of which, however, was followed by the acquisition of new knowledge or of a new technique, Faro again undertook Creation and reorganized the universe by a voyage to the ends of the earth. He established the system of the rains, and he classified living beings according to series, each series having a head of the list. Men thus were named and classed by race and by caste, beginning with the slaves. He gave men the eight cereal seeds which remain the basis of their subsistence and which are forever in [826] their clavicles. Finally, he controls all existence and acts of beings placed under his domination.

The present order is only a phase in space and time. Twelve waters are still hidden; they must in the future, on the order of Faro, rise and spread in the world. They will make known the words of the future, and the world conceived by Yo will be realized.

776 All this mythology is presently represented by numerous objects 778 which serve as props for the different rituals regulating men's lives.

Pemba in represented in the houses of the religious chiefs and heads of families by a wooden block named Pembele, image of the first thick plank (1). In a [83] central hollow, symbolizing the tomb,

1. See S. de Ganay, "Aspects de mythologie et de symbolique bambara" [Aspects of Bambara Mythology and Symbolism]. [Ed., J. psych. norm. et path., Vol. 42 (1949), pp. 181-201.]

are engraved three times 22 marks representing Pemba the creator, the transmission of his Word, and his power to Faro, the token of his foreknowledge of all things, etc. Pembele is an altar guaranteeing the prosperity and life of the group.

776 If the balanza tree no longer is the object of a cult, the Bambara still regard it with a special attitude, which recalls its former role. Mousso Koroni is the impure and untilled land; the agricultural techniques she taught are a partial reparation for the disorders she created. This farm work wounds and purifies the land at the same

776 time; it is the noblest work, and one to which every member of the Bambara race must be subject. Faro is represented by a spiral, mumu; the vibrating movements of the spiral are the same that animate the daily movements of the sun. These movements are materialized in a basket-work headdress, yugu, which has eight whorls and which formerly was reserved for kings. Faro's face is white, because he took it from the spirit of the air, Teliko, who was an albino. His ears are protected by two fins; his hands are of different sex; his tail is palmate, and his breast is of copper. Albinos and copper are the spirit's preferred sacrifices. All atmospheric manifestations denote his presence; his principal seat is the Niger River, but he has the gift of ubiquity and haunts all waters. Faro is accompanied by helpers, the most representative of whom is the bolokuruni, one-armed blacksmith of a black race. His air messenger is the swallow, who carries the [824] fertilizing word. Certain plants are in permanent rapport with him: the Yayalẽ, the Ngoyõ (tomato), which is compared to blood. Thus, small fields of tomatoes reserved for the cult of Faro are cultivated in each village. All metals are reserved for Faro. The Bozo, born of Faro's first twins, enjoy a privileged position because they were not subject to the defilement caused by Mousso Koroni and can enter into direct communication with the spirit. In addition, they are the masters of the water.

776 The cult of Faro includes a whole series of taboos, such as the 784 black earth of the river which may not be used by the potters and 841 butter which may not be kept in water. But the principal taboo is menstrual blood, originally provoked by the disorders of Mousso Koroni.

B. Conception of Man

774 The Bambara conceive man as a microcosm, a resumé of the 761 totality of beings and things. The principle of duality contained in the original creative thought is realized in man by his twin souls which compensate for the separation of the sexes. In man, Faro is represented by the ni (soul) and the dya (double). Pemba is represented by the téré (the character, force, and conscience) and the nyama (which is the téré when it leaves its corporeal support after [826] death). Mousso Koroni is represented by the Wanzo (evil force with

[826] 774 761 its seat in the prepuce and the clitoris, necessitating circumcision and excision). The body is conceived as being the support of all spiritual forces; each part is distinctly known [84] for its particular role. The body, like the spiritual principles, is bisexual; the boy [304] is feminine in his prepuce, the girl masculine in her clitoris, and it 831] is only after circumcision and excision that the man and woman can unite and realize the original fruitful twinship. On the metaphysical plane, there is identity between man, "seed of the world," and the cereal seed; the basic nutriments that are made up of the eight principal cereals are represented symbolically in men's clavicles. 775 Finally, death separates all of these elements composing the person. 761 The dya remains in the water where it will become the ni of the new-born in the family of the deceased; the ni is caught by the family head and transported to the altar where it will animate the dya of the new-born; the téré becomes nyama, a dangerous and vengeful force; it is deposited on the pembele, where it rejoins the ancestral forces. The body is buried and belongs to the termites. At birth, all the spiritual forces are transmitted again, whole, "refreshed," and purified. One being replaces another until the final resurrection.

C. Ritual, Sacrifice, and Cults

782 To appeal to and influence the spiritual forces, the Bambara use prayer, offerings, and sacrifices. Oral rites are used everywhere and at any time. "They pray to the sky, the cardinal points, the spirits; they sacrifice on stones, on the ground, on trees, by water holes, just as on altars sheltered in the sanctuaries or situated in public or private places. Every circumcized adult, father of a family, owner of a home and cultivatable land, is a sacrificer, a capacity [531] emphasized by the red spot which sometimes is an ornament of the walls of the principal room in the man's residence." (1)

1. G. Dieterlen, Essai sur la religion bambara [Essay on Bambara Religion].

782 The blood sacrifice is the basic element of the rites. The
778 technique used for it has been described by M. Griaule (2). The

2. M. Griaule, "Remarques sur le mécanisme du sacrifice Dogon (Soudan français)" [Remarks on Sacrificial Techniques of the Dogon (French Sudan)], Extract from the Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. X, 1940.

Bambara have three types of altars: the wooden stumps called pembele, altars made of roughly hewn stone, which generally represent the ancestors; and the Nyama or boli, man-made objects representing the parts of the universe.

794 The cults can be individual and familial or general for the whole village, such as the dasiri and the dangu. They are organized by religious societies, dyo, whose object is to conserve the spiritual forces of their members. For the men, these societies are: the Komo (principally), the Kworé, the Nama, the Kono, the Nago, the Nya. The women are also grouped in dyo, as yet little known, while the uncircumcised are members of the N'Domo.

The Komo is a hierarchical society whose members have obligations and taboos, such as initiation for future dignitaries of the political and religious society, study of traditions and practices of the cult, study of the science of magic and religious formulas, fabrication and consecration of protective charms (boli-w, dyo-w), knowledge of [85] poisons and antidotes, procedures for combating enemies and sorcerers.

794 Its moral authority is very widespread, and we shall see the
796 role it plays in justice and public affairs. The Komo has obligatory seasonal ceremonies, such as the festival of the cleaning of the sacred wood by the tinto-w (most recent initiates), the festival of the emergence of the komo-sen-w from the stream, that of stream fishing and of hunting on the banks at the end of the dry season, and, finally, that of the solemn return of the komo-sen-w to the stream. In addition, every seven years, a great celebration in April-May lasts for 15 days, with a sacrifice to the komo-ba. The ceremony ends with
[74] the nomination of a new komo-tigi (chief of the Komo), who will exercise his priesthood for seven years. He must die at the end of

that period; his body will not be buried but will be carried off by members of the Komo, who will take it to a crossroads and crush it with the aid of komo-se-w [sic]. The remains will be hidden in a secret place. The same treatment is accorded to the komo-tigi who dies during his seven-year term.

The cult is cantonal, and the various komo-tigi take their orders from their colleagues of the capital. The cult formerly was interican and intertribal. Labouret (Les Mandingues et leur langue [The Mandingo and Their Language]) has made a table of the seven categories of persons who make up the hierarchical society of the initiates.

After initiation into the Komo cult, a natural sequel to circumcision, the young man may, if he so desires, be initiated into other cults. He then enters a powerful spiritual family which unites all its members by ties of brotherhood. This brotherhood is superimposed on the normal social hierarchy of the flã-tõ [this term is probably the same as flanton]. The chief of the brotherhood is entitled nyama-tigi; he is generally a man of caste or a slave. He acquires his position as chief either by inheriting it, by election, or by founding a new cult. To do this latter, he must buy an altar, gna, from the village or from the brotherhood that already possesses this cult. Such a purchase is considered a marriage with the gna and is accompanied by drinking. The higher-ranking initiates (dyenfaw: masters of the truth) are auxiliaries of the nyama-tigi and participate in the oracle, wara-da. All the initiates are more or less divine. The clergy includes, in addition, a sacrificer, muru-kala-tigi, and a dyeli, herald of the god. To become one of the faithful, one must pay an entrance fee and swear an oath of secrecy, obedience, and fellowship. The clergy manages the cult's treasury which is fed by the entrance fees to the brotherhood, by fees levied for a class promotion, by contributions required for the major ceremonies, and by fines imposed on the members.

The brotherhood is a spiritual family which is organized in a fashion similar to the natural filiation of the community. The nyama-tigi plays the role of the fa; the dyen-fa-w and the notable members form a sort of council for settling, with the chief, all questions. The cult does nothing on Mondays and Thursdays, the work holidays.

794 A strict internal discipline regulates the members' conduct; this discipline is founded on secrecy, obedience, and speed in carrying out orders. An accused confesses [86] his faults under the effect of the oath, torture, or divination, and the punishments are determined according to the seriousness of the offense in the eyes of the clergy. These punishments are corporal (flogging, confinement in irons, deprivation of food, death) or pecuniary (fines, confiscation); they may include forced labor for the benefit of the clergy. We shall see further on the social and political role these brotherhoods play in Bambara life.

794 The Kworé society carries out the rites concerning the sky,
796 space, the cardinal points, and the atmospheric manifestations of Faro, notably rain. The ceremonies generally take place around a tree, the kworé-jigi, situated to the east of the village. The altars are placed either in the brush, in the chief's house, or near the village. The society owns a field of small millet which is reserved to meet the needs of the cult.

The n'Domo includes all the non-circumcised. Heading it
[793] is the chief, assisted by a sacrificer, muru-kala-tigi, and by a master of ceremonies, dyoloko-tigi. The society is divided into five grades, corresponding to the five fundamental altars; the initiate advances a grade each year. The society possesses a mask, a whip, and five musical instruments. An annual ceremony takes place after the harvest and includes a blood sacrifice and a ritual fight, followed by a new initiation. The society also owns a ritual field cultivated by its members.

The Nama brotherhood (Nama, "hyena" in Mandé) plays an
[776] important role in the Ségou region. Nama is the god of the incomplete, the unique god, whose annual ceremonies at sowing time and harvest time are observed by the men and women together.

794 The society of Kono, whose hut is situated in the middle of the village, must also be mentioned, as well as those of Dyo, an old divinity, Nia or Gnã, Wara, and Duga.

To all of these societies, which have been described by Tauxier, Monteil, G. Dieterlen, etc., must be added the women's societies, still imperfectly known but very powerful and particularly feared by the men. The principal female dyo in the Bamako region are: the Niagua, the Kulukutu, and the Jide which assembles its initiates on Mondays and Fridays.

D. The New Religions: Islam and Christianity

Alongside this ancestral religion, the Bambara have been exposed to imported religions: Islam and Christianity. The Bambara long resisted the advance of Islam from the Sahara and the cruel Toucouleur domination lasted too briefly to transform a solidly organized religion. But the social evolution provoked by the French conquest has realized what El-Hadj-Omar's conquest could not. The breakdown of the traditional social structures was accompanied by a loosening of religious authority, counterbalanced by the political and administrative authority of the French. Moreover, European educational practices tend to replace the initiation each child received and to turn the children away from the traditional notions. [87] Now, this ignorance and this loss of religious authority are particularly favorable to the diffusion of Islam whose powerful propagandizing is well-known. This diffusion seems to be helped besides by the development of the means of communication, which, on the one hand, aid in separating the young people from the traditional familial authority, and, on the other hand, promote the travel of Dioula and Syrian merchants. All these Mussulmans live in close contact with the population and spread their beliefs, as well as their merchandise, throughout the country. If Islam is constantly on the increase, its practice remains nevertheless superficial and very far from orthodox. Very often it affects only the external forms of the ritual, while the old beliefs and even the traditional sacrifices remain. In addition, the country is still more divided by a certain number of sects, each of which has a Marabout at its head. But the Istiklal constantly attempts, by means of Koran schools directed by Egyptian Mussulmans, to unify this movement which is political as well as religious.

The Christian movement is much less important. In the Sudan it is essentially Catholic; missions are created in the bush and in certain centers, but they are still very few and far between. However, the creation of a Black clergy permits easier contacts with the population. The principal centers of the Catholic cult in the Sudan are at Bamako, the residence of the apostolic vicar, at Kati, Ouolosebougou (Bamako circle), Béléko (Diaila subdivision), Gualala (Yanfolila circle), Kayes, an apostolic prefecture with two churches, at Kakoulou (Kayes circle), Kita (White fathers and sisters of Our Lady of Africa), Karangasso

797 (Koutiala circle), Mandjakuy (San circle), Ségou, Kolongotomo (Macina subdivision), and at Sikasso (apostolic prefecture). In Guinea there is a Catholic center at Siguiri. In Upper Volta there are centers at Niangoloko (Banfora circle), Ouahigouya, and Bam:. Black sisters (Ouahigouya circle). Finally, in the Ivory Coast there is a center at Gorhogo.

Protestant missions are even less numerous; they are generally American. The efforts they have exerted are far from having been crowned with success. We will mention, however, the cultural centers at Bamako with two protestant schools, the center at Sirakoro (Yanfolila circle), the ones at Baramba and Somasso (Koutiala circle), comprising two missions, the center at N'Torosso (San circle), and that of Sikasso. In Upper Volta, centers are at Siniena (Banfora circle) and at Ouahigouya. Finally, in the Ivory Coast there is one at Torogo (Korhogo circle).

II. Techniques

182 It is impossible to give a complete picture of all Bambara techniques; we are far from knowing them all. Investigations are being carried out on the spot, and already they indicate that no object, in its form or its material, no gesture of the customary actions, is due to the imagination of the maker. On the contrary, the material, [88] as well as the movements, is integrated in a system of representations that the Bambara can explain. The principal techniques among these have been analyzed and explained, but many have been described in a very superficial manner.

A. Body Techniques

The Bambara think that fecundation is the work of Faro. This 776 creative function is represented materially by the eating of a tomato 833 by each spouse before sexual relations, which must be repeated twice. 842 It is by means of this consecrated tomato that Faro transmits the life he conserves in water. The role of the father is to give the new-born his articulations which make him fit for work. He transforms the celestial seed into terrestial seed.

844 Before delivery of her child, a woman is advised to pound grain. When the labor pains come, the woman retires to her hut with several matrons (men are not allowed access). If the child is poorly presented, the priest is called. He performs outside the hut, simulating the delivery and chanting the formulas that ease labor. To deliver the infant, the woman kneels with her hands thrown behind her, while the midwife supports the small of her back. At birth the infant's shoulders must touch the ground; this is the moment when he receives his spiritual principles. The infant is washed several times and smeared with karite butter.

846 853 854 The mother must not go out during the first eight days after the birth; she must devote herself entirely to the new-born. She massages his head daily in order to give it a more rounded form, and she pinches his nose. She nurses the infant for the first two years, then the weaned child passes directly to the communal calabash. Until the child can walk, the mother carries it astraddle on her back with the aid of a loincloth knotted at her chest. In this manner the infant accompanies the mother everywhere, to work as well as to the dance. 868 It is during these intimate contacts that the mother teaches her child to talk. Later, the little girls stay with their mothers who teach them all the domestic arts, while the boys are educated in outside work. [867] During their childhood they are taught the usages and rules of deportment: a woman knows she must never shake the hand of a man to 201 greet him, and, if he extends his hand, she flings up her arm "as a 576 sign of not being interested." A man will salute his superior by extending his hand palm upwards, and the superior will put his over it; inversely, when a man greets an inferior he extends his hand with the palm down, while for an equal his hand will be perpendicular to the ground. If a man must ask someone's pardon, he puts his hands behind his back to simulate the tail of an animal (for he has acted like an animal). Crossing the hands in front of or upon the head is a sign of sadness. To mark his submission to a king, a man puts his right elbow to the ground. To pray to God, the two hands are extended with the palms turned [89] outward. A woman learns that it is im- 576 pudent to question her husband during the day, and when she speaks 573 of him, she says hoke, that is, big brother, for she cannot pronounce 933 his name or in any way recall the bonds which exist between them. It is only during the two consecutive nights that she couples with him

576 that she may speak to him freely. When the day of union comes, the
593 wife herself prepares her husband's food; then she lies on the left side
833 (the feminine side) and her husband on the right side, and she cannot
[842] be impregnated except by a union twice repeated.

771 These corporal techniques[1] are dictated and ordered by the religious imperatives which pervade the life of the Bambara from before his birth until after his death.

761 What we have said of the Bambara's religion and of his conception of the world enables us to understand that there cannot be for him a complete break between life and death: birth is a reincarnation; death is not destruction. This is why a man's life does not present one substantial unity but is divided into a certain number of distinct periods, each of which is inaugurated by a rite of transition that marks the death of an anterior state and the rebirth to a new life.

a. Before Birth

843 From the first month after his conception, the infant consti-
761 tutes a person who receives a series of spiritual forces emanating
858 from his father's side of the family and especially from the recently deceased ancestor whose name he will receive. At the same time, he inherits all of the paternal taboos, which the mother must respect during her pregnancy. It is only after his birth, at the time he receives his name, that the infant receives the spiritual forces coming from his mother's side. These forces are transmitted through the medium of the priest and the ancestors of the priest.

761 From then on, the infant is required to observe all the taboos
858 of the beings who have had a part in the composition of his personality; he thus finds himself tightly bound to the society in which he will live.

b. Birth Rites

852 At birth the baby is washed with millet beer (1) (to purify him)

1. For all these rites, see G. Dieterlen, Essai sur la religion bambara [Essay on Bambara Religion].

[1 [i.e., sexual reproduction and childrearing, see pp. 117-119. -Analyst]

852 with water added (to recall the victory of Faro over Mousso Koroni). The patriarch shakes the family pembélé three or four times over the infant's head to give him the nyama of the recently deceased whose ni and dya he has inherited. Then he places the altar (kere la boli ni) on the infant's chest three times, after having recited a prayer. He cuts the throat of a red cock, dips his index finger in the blood, and traces three or four crosses on the newborn's forehead, who be-
553 comes boli din. The name is given the eighth day by the Komo chief
[431] under the doubalé, where the old people assemble. The father offers 100 kola nuts, two jars of millet beer, plus a ram whose throat is cut, and money for the griot. Part of the baby's hair is shaved off and kept in [90] a case (sebe); another part of the hair is thrown in the river as a sacrifice to Faro. The eldest of the old men examines the roots of the infant's hair and the conjunction of the eyebrows, thus determining its character (tésé). Then he swings the baby seven times in an east-west direction and eight times north-south, giving him the first name of the deceased ancestor and, at the same time, his spiritual principles. The griot recite the father's mottoes, the se sénanku come to joke with the baby, and the blacksmith traces the scarifications.

845 Twins. We have seen the belief that in the beginning twins were always born, and Faro subsequently punished man by abolishing double births which he no longer accords except to certain privileged persons. For the Bambara, twins are new beings who inherit neither the ni nor the dya of any ancestor. Special rites are observed at their
[201] birth which is announced by showing the raised right and left index fingers, without saying anything, for the proclamation would be so powerful that it would be harmful to the newborn twins (see G. Dieterlen, Essai sur la religion bambara [Essay on Bambara Religion]. 553 The rite of name-giving is carried out on the bank of the river. The following day, accompanied by another woman, the mother goes in search of millet and cotton which she gathers in identical calabash ladles. Equal gifts are put in the ladles, which the mother presents
[301] in crossed hands. Later, the twins are fitted with metal bracelets representing their dya, and, in certain regions, with a pendant in the form of double slave irons. The twins always stay together; they
856 wear identical clothes. If one dies in early infancy, the mother places on the mat beside the surviving infant a small doll made by

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the blacksmith. The doll is given the name of the dead infant, the
[304 child carries it with him to the circumcision, and, when he marries,
589 he buries the doll with a piece of wood representing the wife of the deceased.

845 Twins are replicas of Faro, their presence is beneficial, and they are considered invulnerable.

826 The albino is supposed to be the issue of sexual relations held
833 in sunlight, a breach of taboo. He, too, is a new being. His wanzo
904 is so active that the circumciser must take great precautions before operating on it.

826 He is considered to be endowed with special powers which
782 make him a choice victim for the sacrifices offered to the spirit of the water.

553 To the children of blacksmiths, the name is given near the
326 paternal forge in the presence of all the artisans. An old man prepares seven little sticks, giving each the name of an ancestor. Three of these are drawn at random from the group, and the third gives the name of the baby. The head of the baby is rubbed with the axe Kongobwona, and his shaved hair is soaked in sacrificial blood.

553 In the Bamako region two chickens or a sheep are sacrificed
782 to celebrate the name-giving. The distribution of the meat is made according to established custom. If it is a chicken, the patriarch receives the head and the gizzard, while the wing and white meat go to the old woman who washed the baby during the first eight days. If it is a sheep, the patriarch receives [91] the ribs (because they are a bulwark, and the patriarch is the defender of the village) and the heart; the blacksmith receives the shoulder; the infant's family gets the head (so that the infant will go ahead), the back (symbol of prosperity), and the limbs (supports one wishes the new-born to have); the blood which runs on the ground is destined for the infant's protective ancestors. Then the family divides the raw meat with the heads of family, and the old woman thus receives her part indirectly.

c. Circumcision

881 A male infant is born, but he still keeps (because of the
304 primordial twinship) the prepuce as the physical support of the female
831 sex. He will only be freed of this by circumcision. It is this operation that definitively determines his sexual qualification and renders him fit to contract marriage.

[ie., the surviving child of twins. -Analyst]

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794 The society of n'Domo has the task of preparing children for circumcision; the wanzo of the child liberated by the operation goes in the mask of the n'Domo.

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304 Formerly, circumcision took place between 18 and 20 years of age, and the circumcised had to bear arms the following year. At present, the children are circumcised between 8 and 16 years of
[561] age, but all those of the same promotion are considered to belong to the same age class and are flani [sic] (twins) all their lives.

The ritual of circumcision has been described many times, in particular by Tauxier and G. Dieterlen. Therefore we will only report the essential phases.

The ceremony takes place during the dry season, in bountiful years after the harvest. The appearance of the constellation "Sigi-lolo" is watched for at a certain point in the sky, and when it is very brilliant, the date is fixed. The operation cannot take place except every three years.

The parents prepare for the ceremony long in advance: they make the child a bonnet of white cloth which they present to the Niger, and they make the signs representing the person of the child with earth from the river. Some days before the operation, the child enters into a period of seclusion; he is placed under the protection of the purifying light of Faro and receives gifts (cowries, food ....).

When the day arrives, his hair is shaved off. His mother washes his shaft with water in which an iron axe has been soaked, then has him eat a plate of rice.

The blacksmith prepares his knife, boloko kumba moru, which is enclosed in an iron sheath, this knife represents the circumcised and the prepuce which will be taken from him. The priest washes the handle and, symbolically, the penis. Then with coal or with millet paste he traces the blade with ritual designs symbolizing the three first circumcised men, the four first excised women, and the bird which is the avatar of the eight ancestral blacksmiths. Next, he ties the prepuce with a small cord (drawn on the middle of the blade) and places it on the pembelé. The cutting knife is hit with a small block of wood, and the blacksmith then traces the scarifications on the shaft. The circumcised bleed in a circle on the ground, in individual holes [92] dug between their legs. They thus deliver the wanzo to the impure earth, while the circumciser recites the prayers. Then they apply a dressing of bloody earth to the wound,

and the member is held up by a split millet stalk. The prepuces are buried, and their white bonnets are put on the circumcised. The place of the operation is forbidden to women and to the non-circumcised who could take the liberated wanzo.

In the Bamako region the blood of the oldest is gathered in two new calabashes, which are later broken and the pieces used to make sistrums, sinzin.

After the ceremony, the children retire for three months under the direction of a priest of the Komo. During this period, when they receive a religious and technical education, they enter the village only to sleep in a special house and to repair the roofs of their teachers' huts.

The night before the sixth day after the operation, they are initiated in the Komo. The next day they are led to the river where they wash their wound. Meals are taken together, followed by songs and dances, until they are healed. The last day, the sistrums, sticks, mats, and everything that has been in contact with the circumcised are put in a pile and burned. Each child jumps over the fire three times and runs home, without turning around, to lose his wanzo definitively. In the Bamako region the sistrums are preserved in the cabin of the village chief and will be used for the children of the following years. The bonnet is returned to the mother and will be preserved until death. The next day the child puts on his new clothes.

Let us note that for the circumcision of twins all the offerings for the ceremony and the sacrifices must be doubled, and each child will possess two sistrums. Finally, the albinos today are sent to the dispensary, because the blacksmiths are afraid to operate on them, their wanzo being particularly dangerous.

Circumcision may take place posthumously. The circumciser then cuts the left ear of the body, since the wanzo freed by death would be dangerous to the living.

Generally, a sort of ceremony of confirmation of membership in the Komo takes place in the year following the circumcision.

d. Excision

The excision of the girls has a meaning equivalent to that of the circumcision of the boys. The operation frees them of the physical male factor residing in the clitoris.

physical male factor residing in the clitoris. The operation takes place, moreover, during the same period as the circumcision. It is carried out by the potteress, wife of the blacksmith, in full daylight before the assembled kin. During their seclusion the girls wear a white veil which plays the same role as the bonnet of the circumcised. Instead of the sistrum, the girls shake a gourd which contains eight millet seeds and cotton fibers which their fiancés have given them. A goat is sacrificed for the ceremony. The collected blood is given to the fiancé in honor of his ancestors who become those of the girl.

[93] On the last day of the ceremony the girls definitively rid themselves of their wanzo by jumping over a pyre composed of the clothes and scraps of the excised.

e. Marriage

It is only after having been circumcised or excised that young people may marry. The institution of marriage is regulated by a ritual which has often been described, particularly by Amar, Monteil, Tauxier, Aubert . . .

The marriage arrangements are made by the respective fa of the two betrothed, after the young people have been consulted. The request is officially made to the parents by an intermediary, a man of caste or a sénanku. It is accompanied by ritual gifts offered to the fa of the girl. In the Bougouni region the request is accompanied by ten kola nuts, because ten is a complete number that designates good events and future births. (Nine kola nuts are offered to present condolences, four as a sign of greeting. To send three nuts would be insulting, and 19 nuts, marking incompleteness, would be a sign of lack of confidence.) The first kola nuts to be offered are always wrapped in one or two karite leaves, symbol of life and of fecundity. If the ten kola nuts are accepted, it means that the father has opened the way to the marriage. The intermediary then make a second trip the following week, bringing a cock for sacrifice to the ancestors and ten more kola nuts; during a third trip he offers another cock and ten more kola nuts before the entire assembled family of the young girl, witnessing that the girl may meet her fiancé. In the course of the fourth trip, the intermediary leads the girl to the fiancé's family, where she will be confided to the wife of the head of the family who will undertake her education.

584 She returns to her own family every year at the beginning of the rainy season and goes back to her future in-laws at the start of the dry season.

583 Every year she takes home 30 kola nuts and three cocks, and
584 the young man's fa begins to pay the bride price which traditionally came to eight oxen and five sheep. The girl returns at the dry season bringing fonio, fruits of the karite, and sumbalé (for making sauces), and other products.

583 She is married after the appearance of the first menses, and
585 her husband continues to pay the bride price in the following order: a cow, a bull, a heifer ...

583 Throughout the engagement period, the young man must
584 cultivate the field of his future parents-in-law.

583 Among the Bambara who currently practice the exchange of young girls between two families for marriage purposes, the compensation is no longer paid, although gifts and contributions are still given.

584 On the day of the marriage the girl is accompanied by an
585 attendant who represents her twin, while the young man also is aided by an attendant, and the two couples symbolize the union of the two couples of [94] primordial twins. Finally, the young girl is carried up to the abode constructed for her by her husband. She is followed by a cortege of seven women, each carrying part of the bride's gifts. The investigation being carried out by Mme. Dieterlen in the Bambara country indicates that the seven women represent the seven
[824] seeds that each man possesses in his clavicles; the bride is the fonio seed that is brought to the husband's village, for marriage is considered to be a cultivation.

The marriage of twins requires slightly different rites. When the twins are not of the same sex, the boy must deflower the girl before she marries (there is only one intercourse). If the twins are two boys, the first to marry must let his wife have relations with his twin. If the twins are girls, the husband of the first to be married must also unite with the second.

f. Death and Funerals

761 Death dissociates the different elements which make up the
764 person. The purpose of the funeral rites is to gather the spiritual

761 principles of the cadaver on altars or masks in order to preserve them
764 for the community.

The rites have undergone an evolution. Formerly the bodies
764 were hung from trees until they rotted, while the bones were kept. At present the bodies are buried. Only a band of cotton symbolizing the tongue of the deceased, that is, his word, is attached to the
[764] branch of a tree. If the deceased was an initiate of the Komo, the society plays an important role in the funeral rites.

All these rites have been studied by G. Dieterlen and Tauxier.
766 Monteil has described at great length the funeral ceremonies of a chief: the three rifle shots recalling his combats, the lamentations of the women, the notification of the village notables, the offerings of relatives and friends, the alms at the crossroads, and finally, the inhumation. The body is prepared, the head shaved, the interior cleaned with water and salt. A paste of water and ground cowry is put into the body openings (the ground cowries possess a divine spirit assuring the preservation of the cadaver). The body, and particularly the head, is daubed with this same paste, then the body is laid on its right side, feet to the north (a woman would be laid on her left side). Finally, the funeral celebration takes place, with the ritual feast
765 and the purifications. Seven days later the celebration of commemoration (Sangha) takes place, followed by the mourning of the women for forty days. After this time the deceased is transformed into a living ancestor.

763 The Bambara receive omens of their death or of a chief's death from certain signs given them in the bush, such as coming across a chameleon on a red anthill, the cry of a certain mythical hyena, the passing of certain crying monkeys or certain birds.

Certain gifted beings have the ability to perceive the departure of a person's spiritual forces and his imminent death. Sometimes they are able to bring back these forces and reinstate them in the body to save the man in danger.

[95] g. Ancestor Worship

769 After his death a man is transformed into a living ancestor
773 and is the object of a cult. The cult is closely connected to the agricultural cults; the ancestors are efficient vital forces which

participate in men's lives, protect them, and make their fields fertile. The farming tools are presented at their altars before the tillage, and every year their souls come to animate the maskers who dance in their honor under the supervision of the Komo. After the grain is threshed, they receive the first products and are offered sacrifices.

h. Other Rites

Besides the rites concerning the person, the Bambara have others, such as those relating to the household wastes where the forces of men are accumulated. The purpose of these rites is to offer these forces to Faro and to regenerate and purify men. The wastes are burned periodically, the men breathe in the fumes, and the ashes are thrown in the river. Sacrifices are offered to the god, and special dances accompany the ceremony.

Rain rites common to all of Africa are practiced in May by the members of the Kworé society. The rites for renewing the year involve individual, familial, and collective participation. The signs of the world are traced on the walls of individual or collective sanctuaries, and by the intermediary of a sacrifice on the altars, by dances and rhythmic chants, man renews the cardinal points and the forces of the world which in turn renew his soul. (All these rites have been described by G. Dieterlen in the Essai sur la religion bambara [Essay on Bambara Religion].

B. Special Technique In General Usage

In Bambara thought, "every technique is a reparation taught man by Faro, a palliative to the cosmic disorder which is generally caused by an infraction of taboo ... Men first lived by gathering their food, then later by fishing and hunting; they used only their hands. Little by little the techniques appeared, following a chronology remembered by the Bambara of today. The first material to be used was the fiber of the nyama tree frond which were made the first fishing nets, the first sling, the first covering for the sexual parts." (1) The second material was wood from which the farming

1. G. Dieterlen, Essai sur la religion bambara [Essay on Bambara Religion].

Ba
773 tools and the throwing weapon were made. Then, unfired pottery and weaving were invented; and men finally came to know stone tools, iron and the forge. The technique of making dwellings seems to have developed more slowly.

a. Fishing

Ba
Bo
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564 Side by side with populations who specialize in the art of fishing, such as the Bozo or the Somono caste, all the Bambara fish in the [96] rivers or watercourses in the neighborhood of their dwellings. A detailed study has been made by J. Daget (1). The Somono, who

1. Jacques Daget, "La pêche dans le delta central du Niger" [Fishing in the Central Delta of the Niger], Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. XIX (1949), No. 1.

are the caste of Bambara fishermen, use traps and nets for fishing; the Bozo remain faithful rather to harpoons and small nets. They are
Ba Bo the ones who almost always make the pirogues, for they alone may
286 enter in rapport with the spirit of the water, Faro. The nets are of
227 knotted mesh made with a weaver's shuttle, sia, and a cylindrical mold, pako. The band of the net, as it is being made, is nearly always attached to a wooden bridge especially conceived for this purpose, the kale or dio soyo kala, a regular tetrahedron whose edges
Ba Bo are about 20 centimeters long, one of which is prolonged by a handle 1.50 meters long. The fisherman, seated on the ground, puts the
283 bridge before him, keeping the handle close to his leg. The fibers
824 used in netmaking are da (Hibiscus cannabinus), kie (Figna ungniculata), cotton, and now European thread.

Bo
226 The Bozo construct weirs from cut and joined tree branches; the weirs assume several different forms according to the regions and
Bo Ba the snares used. Fish are used for human consumption; they are eaten
251 fresh, grilled, fried or boiled, or preserved by smoking or drying. Oil,
252 used for cooking and as a lubricant, is extracted from certain fish, such as the tineni.

Ba
226 Fishing in Bambara villages is done communally under the direction of a fishing chief at the time the waters recede. Precise rules of fishing rights and of rents due the masters of the waters are respected everywhere.

b. Pottery

323 Pottery is entirely fashioned and fired by the women of the blacksmiths' caste, masters of the fire. The modelling is done in two ways, either by hollowing a mass of clay with the aid of a cylindrical stone (2), or by rolling a cylinder of clay around a mold. The

2. M. Griaule, Masques dogons [Dogon Masks].

[531]

decoration is generally a double line of chevrons imprinted around the neck and the foot by the potter's twisted bracelet. The firing is done in the open air over a wood fire.

c. The Forge

326 Wood, iron, metals in general, are fashioned by the blacksmiths. The blacksmith's workshop and the objects he makes are simple, but they are rich in symbolic representations. "The forge represents the artisan: the furnace is his body, the bellows his testicles, the blast pipe his penis, the fire his head. When the red-hot iron is beaten by the hammer, which symbolizes the universe, the sparks are the lightning and the thunderbolt." (3) With his

3. G. Dieterlen, Essai sur la religion bambara [Essay on Bambara Religion].

rudimentary tools spread on the ground under a shelter, the artisan forges all farming instruments, the principal one being the hoe. The 412 hoe, [97] according to its shape, is considered to be male or female. 831 The female hoe has a short handle with an ovoid swelling at the end, [801] into which sticks the point of an iron triangle. The three sides of this triangle are three arcs of a circle; three, symbol of masculinity, represents here the clitoris, the male principle which sustains the [773 241] double, the dya, of the woman. (According to myth, it was with the aid of this part of the body that the first being of female sex inaugurated agricultural labors.) The male hoe has a slightly trapezoidal iron part which is attached to the handle in the same manner. The four sides symbolize the femininity of man sustained by the prepuce. Thus,

412 831 the peasant digs with the male hoe and covers with the female hoe; the work done with the female double of the peasant and the male double of the wife symbolizes the sexual union. (1)

1. M. Griaule and G. Dieterlen, "L'agriculture des Bozo," [Bozo Agriculture] Journal des Africanistes [Ed., Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1949.]

d. Basketry

285 Basketry is done by everyone, men and women; it plays a large part in the construction and furnishing of the house. Sometimes the lofts are immense baskets, woven on the diagonal. In certain regions a great mat is wrapped around the exterior wall of the round hut. The doors of mud huts are often coarse mats woven diagonally [531] which are placed before the opening. But much finer mats, made from fibers of different colors and with geometric designs with a symbolic meaning, cover the ground for sitting or sleeping.

e. Weaving, Clothes, Ornaments

291 [824] The first article of clothing was the fiber skirt made from the nyama (Bauhinia reticulata, or Bauhinia thonningii) and the covering for the sexual parts which are still worn during religious ceremonies.

[773] 286 Mythology designates cotton as the first fiber to be woven. Weaving is one of the most widespread techniques. Cotton, spun by the women, is woven by the men, in olden times by the captives, who work in the open air near the huts, in the shade of trees in the courtyards or in the public places. A primitive loom made of four vertical wooden parts connected by horizontal shafts and driven by pedals weaves long bands. The warp and woof form a ground stich and symbolize a being of intelligence and eloquence. Moreover, a science of the bands exists which is based on the symbolism of colors, designs, and numbers.

822 The Bambara distinguish three fundamental colors: white, red, and black. Each of these three tints has its history and its role

822 in the rites. "Red is the color of the middle regions of the world. It characterizes dry heat; it is the color of anger and of justice, that of the king, center of the kingdom." Black or indigo (2) is

2. Zahan, Les couleurs chez les Bambara du Soudan français [Colors Among the Bambara of the French Sudan], Notes Africaines, 1951.

identified with the North and the [98] rainy season. It evokes impurity, obscurity. It denotes sadness and the end of labor. The South accords with the ancestors and the color white which represents light and purity; it is the color of Faro. The whole system
286 of bands woven from different colored threads according to various
822 designs translates the different conditions of the wearer; for each band has its own history, its definite use, and its cosmogonic correspondences. The study of this was begun by G. Dieterlen in Essai sur la religion bambara [Essay on Bambara Religion] and is being
291 pursued at the present time. Today the form of clothing varies according to the age and sex of the wearer. Young children are nude, with the loins girt with a cotton string or with a belt of blue beads or cowry shells. Sometimes, two small copper bells attract the protection of Faro by their sound. Up until their marriage, the young girls wear a loincloth passed between their legs and held in place by eight bead belts. When they are married, women wear the loincloth open, attached at the waist, and a cotton handkerchief covers
[854] their hair. When a child is born, another cloth knotted at the chest holds the infant astraddle on the mother's back A chief's wife
[554] wore a piece of material made of seven bands which she threw over her shoulder. Very young boys wear short drawers whose form varies with the age classes. Later they are dressed in a short tunic with a neck opening cut out and fitted sleeves, and in ample short breeches
[801] formed of three bands (the masculine number), passing between the legs and three bands on each side covering the thighs. The waist is also encircled by four times three bands, numbers of femininity and of masculinity. Over their clothes, men and women wear a large cloak with an opening cut out in the middle for the head and whose ends are sown together, leaving large openings on each side. These cloaks have a large pocket in front and are embroidered with symbolic

291 designs. European influence has naturally made itself felt in the
[177] fashions, and European thread is replacing native cotton thread, but the color symbolism in the bands is retained. Even though European fabrics invade the markets more and more, the traditional clothes remain the most sought after, although they have undergone certain modifications inspired by European fashions even while remaining very original.

Although the Bambara go barefoot, in certain circumstances
291 they make ornamented clogs to give to the new bride. These sandals
531 are decorated with geometric designs, engraved with a hot iron by
585 the blacksmith, that symbolize the twinship, the multiplication of children, the parents, the husband's family, the couple's language, and the sealing of the association. These signs are encircled by the sign of the union of the whole. Also, the whole ritual of taking possession lasts for several days.

302 Coiffure. At the present time, the adult males no longer wear the traditional coiffure consisting of two plaits at the side, but the children still have their hair shaved and braided according to custom. Thus, the uncircumcised boys wear a crest of hair going from the forehead to the nape of the neck, while the rest of the head is shaved. The crest symbolizes the [99] divine serpent. The children of blacksmiths also wear, at the sides of the head, two circles of hair which are cut by lines representing the forge. When a child is born after the death of several brothers and sisters, only half of his head is shaved in mockery, so that the dya subject to this pretended neglect will decide to stay in the child. The children of Marabouts have their hair shaved in such a manner that it forms a spiral which starts in the middle of the skull and covers the whole head. Afterwards, bands of hair are shaved in a manner to trace a cross on this spiral. The little girls wear a small braid across the forehead, falling on the left side, while married women wear a braid at each side of the head. These braids are made by adding fibers of the da, shining with karite, plaited with the hair. Finally, the women wear
301 22 gold rings at the ears, images of the 22 primordial elements, or sometimes a single large ring in the form of a crescent closed by threads of red cotton, which is a résumé of the 22 others. These rings keep impure words from the ear, which plays an important
[178] role in generation; it is through the ornamentation that the spirits hear what is said to man.

304 The Bambara decorate their faces and bodies with numerous
773 scarifications, with the aim of conferring on the wearer the qualities symbolized by the scars. By their influence on the character and temperament of an individual, they help him to come up to the ideal man. These marks are associated with the myth of the origin of agriculture. They are eight small scars: two vertical ones at the root of the nose, three under each eye. They imitate the facial marks of the mythical being, half man, half animal, who taught men how to cultivate the soil. (1)

1. S. de Ganay, "On a form of cicatrisation among the Bambara," Man.

f. Arrangement of the Settlements

361 The Bambara village follows rules of development which allow a stranger to recognize the disposition of the huts immediately and to single out a chief's house, that of a blacksmith, or that of any other member of the society. In fact, the village is built to the north or east of the protective tree. To the south of the village, [773] is the sacred wood, dwelling place of the chief of the spirits, where the religious ceremonies and the initiation rites take place. As more families come to live in the village, they build their huts around that of the chief, except to the east, for the chief must see the sun rise. The oldest son of the chief, his eventual successor, will have his own plot near his father's. The house of the Komo is situated outside of the village, to the south or west, hidden in a wood or a thicket. At the edge of the village is a round cabin, the house of the Nyama, in the middle is a square cabin with painted walls, house of the Gna (see the chapter on religion). In the center of the village, a cleared place around a doubalé serves for public meetings; the elders hold their councils under the branches of the doubalé.

764 [100] Finally, the cemetery of the free men is found outside the
554 village, to the west; that of captives and people of caste is to the south of the free men's cemetery.

326 Every village has its blacksmith, for he is life, and the vil-
∞ lage could not subsist without him. Before the French conquest,

Before the French conquest,

712 Bambara villages were fortified. They were protected by a triple enclosure of clay blocks following a line of beams that sheltered the sentinels. The first wall enclosed the village and the surrounding gardens, the second circled the interior of the village, and the third surrounded the chief's houses. These walls could be as high as five meters and as wide as two meters at the base. They had a ditch in front of them and were re-inforced by steps. Considerable ruins of these fortifications may still be seen in the Kourolamini at Ténintu (Bougouni circle).

342 House construction. (1) Throughout the Sudan, house construction is carried out during the dry season. The same is true for repairs, except for the most urgent caused by damage from rains, streaming waters, violent winds, or by the ravages of termites.

1. Information, in part, given by Moussa Traoré, from the village of Gouani (Diemandougou canton), Bamako circle.

342 361 712 718 Choice of the site. The choice is often made near a temporary or permanent watercourse where wells may be sunk. A soothsayer or Marabout is next consulted, who reveals the existence of a spirit whose favorite place is the caïlcedra; if the spirit is benevolent, the installation is authorized, and the sacred tree becomes the altar of the collectivity. It is bathed with periodic sacrifices.

342 Types of habitation. 1. The round hut with thatched roof (tuba bo); 2. the square or rectangular hut (bili) with flat roof.

Round hut. The man drives a stake to which he attaches a cord 1.50 meters long at the most, which is also tied to the head of a hoe. The man circles the stake and traces a circumference that will be the scheme of the house. No foundation is laid. A series of double pickets (kassassin) is set up around the circumference. A bamboo strip is passed in and out between the double stakes, and this basketwork is raised from the ground up to a height of about two meters.

When the cylinder forming the walls of the base is finished, a door is cut, facing south, 25 centimeters from the ground and 1.50 meters high. One then plasters with banco, that is, with earth dug not far from the hut by the young people and made into a paste with a mixture of fonio straw, cow dung, and water drawn by the women. The roof is constructed on the ground. A circumference equal to that

3½2 of the hut is traced; around this, four large bamboo stakes are erected which are all tied together at one end with a fiber rope. A large stone is placed on top of the pyramid to weigh on the stakes and keep them properly apart. Near the top, two bamboo strips are tied around the four stakes, one on the outside and the other on the inside: this is the midio. Other stakes are slipped between the four principal ones and are attached to the double hoop. Equally spaced, [101] seven or eight other circles are tied on, descending toward the base of the cone. For covering the roof, straw of tji le, very thin and white, is chosen, which will be the most rainproof, or else straw of black uro-ba-bi, "hyena grass", coarser and less esteemed. A layer of straw is spread on, attached to the top, and sewed to the first two circles. A third hoop placed over the two others keeps the straw in place. Then a second row is put on and sewed to the last hoop, at ground level. The succeeding rows then are laid from the bottom up to the top in such a manner that they partially cover each other. When the bottom row has been sewed, the roof is lifted, and a small child slips inside to pull in the bamboo needle used to sew the straw to the hoops. When the roof is entirely sewed, a man climbs up, knocks the stone off the top, and takes its place. He slips a hoop made of six bamboo strips over the first three hoops of the roof, attaching it with the aid of two crossed sticks that pierce the roof. He gathers the straw at the top between the ends of the four stakes which are sticking out and knots and plaits it "like a woman's hair." If the roof is to cover a woman's hut, this is not done, but the straw which sticks out is folded down and held by the first hoop. Finally, from 15 to 30 young men assemble and lift the roof onto the hut.

At the present time, walls of basketwork and banco are replaced by walls made of molded banco bricks, dried in the sun.

Rectangular or square hut. This form is of recent importation [177] in the Bamako and Bougouni circles; it is frequently found starting at Ségou and up to the Sahel.

This type is constructed with dried bricks. When the roof is flat, it rests on forked wooden posts that are planted in the ground or that stand on big flat stones. There are five, seven, or nine of these posts, including a central one. Beams are placed in the forks; joists go across the supports. The whole is covered with matting which is packed with a layer of banco mixed with karite butter or with nere flour. The roof is constructed with a slight incline to let the water run off, and it is tamped with the bumbuli, a sort of wooden

342 shovel. A coping of bricks is then laid out around the roof, leaving room for the gutters which spill into the streets. These houses may be topped with a second roof, a thatched cone. The four chief timbers are set at the four angles of the house. There is a door in the first ceiling, and precious goods or objects are kept in this part of the house. As in the round huts, the door always opens to the south.

[537] The outside of the houses are plastered with earth mixed with cow dung; on the inside, the floor and lower part of the walls are daubed with black earth mixed with fresh cow manure and bark from [524] the jumbo tree (Napoleona Heudelotii); the upper walls and the ceiling are covered with white river clay. Where the two colors meet, [531] lines of festoons traced with the finger symbolize the descent of the third Word. On the white walls are painted ladders, calabash spoons, animals, signs conveying [102] the worldly situation of the owner as well as the soul of the artist.

[356] The periphery of the entrance door is daubed with fresh cow [761] dung every 15 days, and more liberally with rotted cow dung once a year before the rains. This custom is linked to ancestor worship.

Canari [earthenware vessels] containing certain plants are 353 buried under the bed of the head of the family; other plants and 352 juice from roots are hidden under the women's beds. The boli are hooked to the roofing of the houses for they must touch neither earth, water, nor fire. Nets, diakumadjulu, are hung from the ceiling; they hold clothes or calabashes for the food; mats or animal skins are spread on the ground; beds, different-sized calabashes, and stools complete the furnishings. The different huts belonging to one family 351 are surrounded by a wall that opens into the vestibule of a hut with 342 two doors, oriented north-south. This is where the head of the [354] family receives strangers. In the inside court are found hearths made of three stones, mortars for millet, and chicken coops, a sort of small square hut made of clay mixed with straw. The granaries, 343 constructed on piles, have the form of round huts. They are divided 251 into four parts, where the four principal grains are kept: millet, rice, fonio, ground nuts. Some grains may be kept together in the same compartment, for example, millet and ground nuts. Certain granaries, bonio, are veritable cigar-shaped pots made by the blacksmiths' wives. When the bonio is finished, it is cut into sections

343 which are dried. Then it is reassembled without sealing the pieces
251 together, and as the level of the provisions goes down, the unnecessary sections are taken off. The kitchens are situated to the west of the rooms.

342 Arrangement of the huts in a concession. The chief's hut is
361 always to the east, for he must see the sun rise. His hut is often quadrangular and has several rooms. The women's huts are generally round; each has its kitchen situated to the west and closed by a separate lock. Private shower rooms are reserved for husbands and
[514] wives. Privy cabinets with two holes, one for urine and one for stool, are stopped up and condemned when they are full.

312 Finally, the well is sunk in the middle of the court or else in the immediate proximity of the concession. Water is drawn directly with a calabash fixed to a long rope.

342 Sometimes individual huts are constructed on piles for protection against mosquitoes at night; the only opening is a trap door in the floor by which the hut is entered.

g. Tombs

764 An old custom had the family heads buried in their huts. The Fama were buried in the courts of their fortified palaces, to the northwest. Babies were buried near their mothers' huts, for their return was awaited. At the present time the Bambara are buried in cemeteries following Moslem or animist custom.

[767] [103] The brotherhood priests dig the graves; tombs may be individual or collective. Monteil (Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta [The Bambara of Ségou and Kaarta]) describes a chief's tomb: the vault has the form of a parallelepiped; the lower base is one meter wide and two long, the upper base three wide and two long, and a vertical partition of 1. 50 meters forms a right angle with the bases.

In Ouassoulou the custom was to dig a common tomb of several chambers for the whole family. A square entrance about two meters high and two wide led into a narrow corridor that opened on a first chamber reserved for children; another corridor connected the first chamber with a second, larger one reserved for women and for adult males; from this a third corridor led to a last chamber, a smaller one for heads of the family. An oil lamp was placed at the

764 left of each chamber's entrance and was left to go out by itself. The body was placed in the middle of the chamber, the feet to the north and the head to the south. At the time of a new burial, all the long bones were gathered in one corner of the chamber and all the skulls in another, for the number of deceased was verified by these. Finally in the Kokum region hundreds of tumuli cover vaults consisting of a [346] heart-shaped chamber cut in the laterite and preceded by a vestibule to the west and by steps cut into the rock which lead to the open air. The outside and inside doors are closed by a slab of laterite. The outside door is hidden under the tumulus, with three equally-spaced stones marking the location. The skulls are arranged in a dome and separated from the long bones. Lastly, the tomb of the village's founding ancestor is found in the center of the village, to the north of the old fortified court of the chiefs' house.

III. Art

517 The Bambara conception of art is very different from the occidental idea of art for art's sake. Every object that we find beautiful has a precise social, religious, or technical significance for the Bambara: "The art of the Blacks is purposeful ... it is gratuitous projection in a material of ideas and knowledge which bring the user or spectator nothing other than themselves. Doubtless crude in the first stages, often the product of superficial knowledge or even of calculated errors, the esthetic sense of the Blacks is clarified and affirmed as they learn and as they pass from a 'light knowledge' to a knowledge of the great secrets. It seems impossible to an educated man that he could make an abstraction of his knowledge to judge a dance or to become enthusiastic over the playing of a clever harpist. What we call beauty is for the Black the adequacy of the object to represent that for which it is created." (1)

1. M. Griaule, "L'art nègre" [Negro Art], Présence africaine.

532 The masks conceal the person and transform the human being into a supernatural being. They are the privileged instrument of the [765] nyama, the first [104] model having been carved to fix the vital force of the first dead ancestor in a wooden figure. "The society of

532 the masks is an entire world, and when it sets itself in motion in the public place, it dances the movement of the world, it dances the system of the world." (1)

1. Ibid., "Dieu d'eau" [God of Water].

A. Statuary

Sculpture is man's work, done by the blacksmiths. It is of religious inspiration.

There are three centers of fabrication, whose productions differ in their form. These are the regions of Bamako, Bougouni (a veritable land of blacksmiths), and Kinian, of which the latter covers part of the Sikasso, Koutiala, and Ségou districts. (2)

2. Passim, Lem, "Sculptures soudanaises" [Sudanese Sculptures], Arts et métiers graphiques, Paris, 1948.

They make female statuettes, fertility statuettes, marionettes 545 used for theatrical representations given by the young people, masks for the different societies, and, in particular, a whole series of stylized antelopes, special symbols of the tchi wara dancers.

532 "Like the Chinese sculptor of the Han period, the Bambara 171 sees and fixes forms in terms of profiles. He practices openwork carving, cutting silhouettes which appear against the light as hieroglyphs with fixed and suggestive outlines. Giving interpretations to signs and forms borrowed from familiar animals, the Bambara combine and associate them to create figures emblematic of the tribe or clan, figures of recognition. This symbolic zoomorphism, the basis of heraldry, is that of the peoples of the great Asiatic steppe, that of the peoples of Mesopotamia and of Asia Minor; it was, in part, that of the Egyptians of the age of the Pharaohs who achieved in the valley of the Nile, predestined for this by its situation and its resources, the synthesis of a double culture." "Thus it is that the sculptor, in order to express his vision, often has recourse to the ideogram of geometric character, upon which is founded the conceptual character of the peoples of the steppe. (3)

3. Passim, F.H. Lem, Variété et unité des

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traditions plastiques de l'Afrique noire
[Variety and Unity of the Plastic Art Traditions of Black Africa].

532 A great variety of wood (4) is available to the sculptor, who

4. Passim, H. Lavachery, "L'art noir d'Afrique et son destin" [Negro Art of Africa and its Destiny], Présence africaine.

chiefly uses fine-grained species whose fibers are not very sensitive, and who avoids woods that are too hard and too dense. The artist [412] works with green wood, generally with an adze, or chip-axe, which probably is derived from the hoe. This instrument serves for rough chipping the mass and for establishing the secondary volumes; it gives the statue a singular "faceted" aspect. The work is completed [412] by means of a knife and gouges. A skillful technique makes it possible to give the wood a patina; it is blackened by burying the pieces in certain types of mud, by being immersed in palm oil, and daubed with lampblack. The wood is reddened by applying plasters made by grinding barks and making pastes from them. The objects so treated are [105] lengthily polished with skins and take on the sombre, brilliant aspect of old bronzes. The patina of the pieces is an important element of their beauty.

The art observes stylistic conventions, such as the deformation of normal appearances. In the structure of the mass, convention regulates the proportion of the parts, of the solid portions and the hollows; it regulates the development of the secondary volumes and of the surfaces of the different planes, their extent and their lines of contact. In its volume, the statuary obeys an almost immutable canon: to a cylindrical trunk is attached a head that is enormous in proportion to the other members, which are confined to narrow limits; the lower members are much shorter than in nature. The oversized head is a convention related to ancestor worship. The head is sculpted in concave style, and the entire figure is subordinated to a marked geometrization.

326 The blacksmiths also work gold by using the "lost wax"
531 method, or by hammering, embossing anf fixing thin leaves of gold,

326 as well as of silver, on a wooden core. The thrones of the ancient
[531] Bambara chiefs were covered in this manner. Today the golden ornaments are no longer reserved exclusively for the wives of kings.
[301] Bracelets, pendants, and necklaces are produced in large quantities in a filigree work in which the Black excels.

B. Ceramics

323 The land is very rich in pottery, but Bambara men do not model clay, pottery being a woman's art. Inversely, the women do not work on statuary.

C. Painting

531 The Bambara paint murals on the sanctuary walls with ocher
386 and a millet paste. The priests make these drawings periodically. The walls of the young people's huts are also decorated with symbolic motifs: calabash spoons, festoons, ladders with 22 bars, drawings of hands, lines of chevrons. The young girls come to paint these,
[387] with clay from the river or with a mixture of clay and cow dung. All these geometric drawings are signs representing not only the cosmogony, but a subtle translation of all the movements of the executing artist's soul. They are a veritable form of writing.

D. Music

533 Music is a privileged art (1) because it is bound to instru-
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1. Griaule, Passim, "Symbole des arts africains" [Symbol of the African Arts], Présence africaine.

ments, that is to say, to materials, to the human body by the voice and the dance, to numbers by the rhythm, to medicine, to divination, and to religion.

534 [106] In a report to the French Institute of Anthropology on
771 February 18, 1948, Mme. G. Dieterlen described the structure and symbolism of the two Bambara musical instruments, the Sema guitar and the royal drum.

534 "The form of Bambara musical instruments is governed by a
771 symbolism which enters into the metaphysical and religious system of this population."

a. The chief instrument is the drum, the tabale, reserved to kings and chiefs. The mythical prototype of this instrument was made of copper, a primordial metal whose vibration is likened to that of light, of sound, of water, and of speech in this population.

The instrument today is composed of two parts: a square wooden frame covered with goat's skin, which forms the body of the drum, and a detachable apron of engraved wood, in the form of a half-moon on one of its faces, which is attached to one of the drum's sides. This apron is covered with plaques of engraved and adorned wood, and, on the periphery of the rounded face, with a strap of leather trimmed with copper rings. This apron represents an ear which is at the same time that of the spirit of the air, that of the masters of sound, and that of the king. The copper rings are replicas of those worn in the ears by everybody; their role is to transmit sounds and rhythms to the eardrum.

The wooden drumstick used to beat the instrument is unusually long and anthropomorphous in form. It has a bell at one end. It represents Koumabana, the first of the eight ancestors in the Bambara pantheon who received "the Word" ...

b. The anthropomorphism of the harp [guitar?], ngoni, is very plain in the minds of its users.

The instrument's rectangular frame represents the mask of Koumabana, the ancestor who received the Word; the two side pieces are his eyes; the sound hole, his nose and his respiration; the tail-piece, his mouth and his teeth; the strings, eight in number, his words. It is also the image of his tomb, and the two rods that cross it represent the second and third ancestors who accompanied him in death. The frame also represents the face of the seer and his tomb, the two rods being the two millet stalks put in the ground with the cadaver. At the end of the handle, copper bells have the same role, technical and religious at the same time, as those attached to the apron on the drum described above.

534 Each sound given by each of the eight strings is a prayer.
787 The seer plucks the strings separately, following their rank and according to the importance of the questioner and of the questions he

534 787 asks: modè (grandson) for unimportant subjects, hunting, voyages; fadè (son of the father) for individual life, physical and moral; fa (father) for the future, destiny, the public life of a man, his authority, his rule; fakoroke (father's older brother) for the plantings, the rains, for fortune; fa dogone (father's younger brother) for germination of the cereals; ba (mother) for everything concerning the women; [107] faso (father's house) for everything concerning the familial abode or the absent.

534 The principal efficacy of the harp is in bringing order, by the rhythms and sounds emanating from it, to all that is troubled in the march of events.

The harp presides at sacrifices, at cathartic or medical rites, at purifications, at apotropaic rites, at solitary meditations. Its high notes are celestial and symbolic of completeness; the low notes connote terrestrial things and incompleteness. Its playing commands arrivals and departures, proliferations and diminutions, calls to order; its presence at the edge of a pool, where it had been silently placed, is assurance of appeasement.

The harpist, before beginning his service, puts his mouth to [788] the orifice in the frame and murmurs to the master of the Word: "Now it is your turn, organize the world." (1)

1. Passim, Griaule, "Symbole des arts africains" [Symbol of the Africain Arts].

533 534 Music, dance, and song are intimately linked in the religious movement. Thus it is that a djo of the Samaké (Bougouni circle) is composed entirely of musicians who form an orchestra in which the whole scale is represented by eight different principal instruments, which are types of a multitude of others. There is one n'ganian-ba, an instrument made by hollowing out a trough in a tree trunk, which gives a very deep sound when rubbed; it is the bass which gives the cadence. Two to three tioro give a sharper sound; four to six tioun, a still sharper sound, and there are as many as ten fere, the instrument with the sharpest sound. Finally, a host of N'ganian dyeli begin the 533 292 music as the griot quiets the crowd at the start. All these instruments have the form of a pirogue. In addition, the orchestra includes two singers and two dancers. Everyone wears masks, bonnets with crests

533 of black, red, and yellow fibers, clothes of plaited fibers, and the
292 musicians wear a cuirass made of fana seeds (a sort of bean). The bass player wears a band in the back which reaches to his heels and describes a circle when the musician whirls in going from north to south and from east to west to give the cadence. The other musicians form a circle which the dancers and singers do not enter. Another djo is the So, where the musicians and the singers wear masks of wooden horses, except for two clowns who represent the masculine element in the midst of the crowd of young girls. Lastly, the third djo is the djo buru (buru, "trumpet"). This is the djo of the slaves; they play the ivory horn and are clothed like the N'ganian, but the bass player represents a cow, and the others are the heifers who respond to the cadence indicated to them by their mother.

E. Literature

538 Bambara literature, entirely oral, is extremely rich. It is the monopoly of the griot who from their earliest days learn the stories, the proverbs, the mottoes associated with each [108] family. They recite very long and very numerous epic songs concerning each great family, accompanying themselves on the harp. Certain parts are recited, others are sung in chorus by the griot and his wife. These stories are at the same time historical narratives of heroes' exploits and the mythical history of a demiurge symbolized by the hero. An infinitely small part of these epic songs has been collected. Some Bambara proverbs and stories have been collected by Moussa Traoré in particular.

545 It is interesting to mention another literary production, one
794 in which the creative inspiration of the artist plays a greater part:
522 these are the narratives of the members of the Kworé brotherhood. The Kworéduga are clowns, or rather commedia dell'arte players. One is a Kworéduga by hereditary transmission or by natural bent. During his initiation in the bush, where he submits to ritual harsh treatment, the initiate learns never to lose his temper, no matter what the circumstances. He is taught a comic language, witty sayings. He is trained to observe men's character closely and to recite stanzas and couplets giving his observations.

545 Example:
794 Tiekoróba kolili (the old man who has nothing)
522 Ita rokina momindi (what you say is not liked)
Ida konieti aïe (you are right)
N'ka idia dopina marmandi (but one doesn't like what you say)
Or again:
Demise fentili (the rich young man)
Ida dokma kakadi (one likes what you say)
Ida konie tinaïe (what you say is not true)
N'ka idia dokma makadi (but one likes what you say)

545 The Kworéduga have the su (Moor) as taboo, and they accom-
534 pany themselves in singing with a sacred gourd, yaraba, which con-
794 tains seeds of Lufa cilindrica.

Finally, during the circumcision initiation period for example,
536 the child learns the sacred dances which often mime exploits of the
881 mythical ancestors.

A certain evolution characterizes the native art which has
177 been transformed in a curious fashion by contact with Europeans.
517 In European centers, prolonged contact with the Whites has confused the beliefs that inspired the art, but the artists have lost neither their taste nor their gifts. At the request of the Whites themselves, they have undertaken a controlled art, with the aim of pleasing the Europeans. Needless to say, even if it conserves some charm in its form, all this new art, which evolves with the same swift rhythm as our modes, remains terribly dead, for the true source of inspiration has dried up. This art no longer seeks to be true, but to be pretty; by this it signs its own death warrant.

[109] CONCLUSION

I. Traditional Interpretation of Mental Characteristics

181 In the introduction to Religion Bambara, Tauxier insists on the mental characteristics: "The Bambara has remained rather openly fetishist"; he possesses "two dominant traits, which are absolutely undisputed and indisputable:

"1. He is a very good farmer.

181 "2. The Bambara makes a solid and disciplined infantryman ... Mentally he is rather dull and stupid, physically he is stocky and 142 solid." Previously, the Abbé Henry had concluded in these terms: "The Bambara is a farmer ... Well proportioned, his height is medium, neither tall nor short. His chest is strong, and his short, thickset neck supports a large head covered with black, wooly hair. Nothing in his visage betokens spiritual force, energy, intelligence. His forehead is receding, his eyebrow arches are rather pronounced, and his jet-black eyes, of which the white part is slightly cream (!), are straight. His jaws, nearly always well toothed, project slightly; he has strong, thick lips, a short chin, cheekbones ... a little projecting, and his flat nose is horribly open and squashed at its root.

145 "The wife, as well as the husband, is strong, robust. More often than not she is knock-kneed, and this constitutional defect [182] doubtless comes from the fact that she is obliged, from her earliest childhood, to carry rather heavy burdens on her head, burdens often too heavy for her strength [sic]. Mentally, the Bambara has a mind 181 as thick as his body. Slow to understand and lacking curiosity, he has no desire to improve his condition. 'What my fathers did, I must do' -- that is his great principle ... Lazy, good-for-nothing even, he believes he's done everything if he has enough in his granary to feed himself and his family ... Timorous, he fears the European exactly as a slave fears his master, and if he serves the European passably well, the latter is greatly mistaken if he thinks he has gained the native's affection. He detests the White, as he detests the Moslem; the White is the conqueror, an anti-fetishist, and therefore an enemy."

Finally, M. Monteil, in his Monographie de Djenné [Djenné 142 Monograph], tells us in his turn: "... elongated skull and pronounced 302 prognathism; the black, wooly hair is often gathered in braids by the young people ... the top of the head is often shaven, which makes the forehead look larger. The women affect a sort of transversal crest.

142 "The forehead recedes, the eyebrow arches project ... the nose [110] flattened, the root of the nose squashed, the nostrils gaping wide, the lips thick ... the teeth wide with little space between ... the neck large, the shoulders wide and straight, the chest strong and long, the members robust, the joints thick. Rather often for the woman, sometimes for the man, a fairly pronounced steatopygia.

142 The skin is in all tints, from light maroon to dark black. The height is a little above average . . .

181 "The Bambara is a bumpkin; he is dull and slow to understand, but he clings to his ideas, doubtless rare, and has an insurmountable stubbornness. He is patient; he endures every tyranny and submits to every calamity with a stupefying resignation. But when he has resolved to exact vengeance by force or by exercising his rights, nothing can stop him. He does not know how to present himself, he has trouble explaining himself, he always goes on interminably before coming to the point, and even though speaking deliberately, his eyes averted or fixed on the ground, he only pronounces half of the words, which makes it difficult to understand him."

These few extracts at least have the merit of giving a measure of the extent to which the Bambara is incomprehensible to the White.

II. Refutation of the Traditional Theory

The Bambara is, in fact, intelligent, patient, and stubborn, so many qualities indispensable for living in this difficult country. We have been able to show, in the course of this study, how coherent his metaphysical system was, its intellectual rigor, and how it influenced all social and economic life. But we must insist on this point: such a system is not the fruit of the idle speculations of a few privileged minds; it is lived by all, understood in its parts by all members of the society and in its totality by numerous old men.

153 The absence of a system of writing like our own obliges the
181 Bambara to possess all this knowledge himself, and his prodigious memory astonishes the White. But the most remarkable thing in his intellectual makeup is the facility with which he has managed to seize our modes of thought, so different from his traditional thought, and to assimilate our vision of the world; there is no great school in France that is not within his reach. The astonishing ease with which he is able to assimilate our language and our thought is adequate proof of the suppleness of his mind which has always been trained in all the speculative subtleties.

181 The stubbornness he exhibits in certain cases is often his only manner of defending his traditions, which are the very stuff of his life. These traditions were formed in the course of thousands of years of experience in a hard country where life is not a natural thing.

[81] The upheavals caused by the colonization fascinate his curious soul, but their ultimate result is the uprooting and the destruction of the thing that permitted him to live and to defend himself against a harsh environment, the group. He defends himself against the White invasion by hiding; he prefers to appear stupid rather than to reveal [111] his system to the stranger and to confide to him what constitutes its force. The Bambara may seem lazy. In reality, he knows that agitation is impossible in this tropical climate; he is sparing in his movements in order to assure the maximum return from them. Moreover, moderation characterizes the whole of this subdesert region. Never does any unconstraint develop generous forms; everything is condensed for maximum efficacity. The world is systematized into symbols which escape destruction. Exterior manifestations are useless in this country where the climate destroys everything. The only thing that resists is not matter, but spirit. The Bambara has systematically sacrificed all material luxury in favor of the speculative life, and his "averted eyes" are turned toward the inner life. It is perhaps because of that that he does not know how to "present" himself and that he doesn't sparkle like the Peul. He considers himself "a man of the soil," capable of enduring heat and cold and all the brutal changes that are visited on him by men or the elements. This is why he alone is able to render fecund a sterile land that has discouraged more than one of our technicians.

But what is perhaps the most important thing is the joy which fills the life of the Bambara. The women pound the cereals alone or in a group snapping their fingers in play; they spin cotton, sing, shout, laugh, cook, go seek dead wood in the bush, and draw water from the well or from a neighboring watercourse, all the while making waggish remarks on the small events of the day, for no detail escapes them. In the evening there are the Tam-tam, organized by the young people to celebrate a marriage, to thank a chief for his bounty, or for the simple pleasure of dancing, of losing oneself in the rhythm of the drums and rapid handclapping. At night, the Komo, surrounded by the dancers, comes to challenge a witch who terrorizes the village. A terrible fight ensues, with each one using his magic gifts. When the witch is vanquished, the village chief comes to felicitate the Komo chief publicly, and the women and and children gasp with pleasure. During a social evening, a griot

[8] gathers several friends in a corner to listen to songs and recitations of the old times; all are in ecstasy, moved, revolted or consoled, according to what happens in the long, marvelous story. Then, there are the games and challenges of the children's societies, which seem to want to upset all the fine social order of the village by their drum beatings, their petty thefts, or their claims.

To be sure, the life of the Bambara is exempt from neither work nor difficulties. But still it knows joy, goodwill, and peace. And if there is one thing that it does not know, that is, indubitably, boredom.

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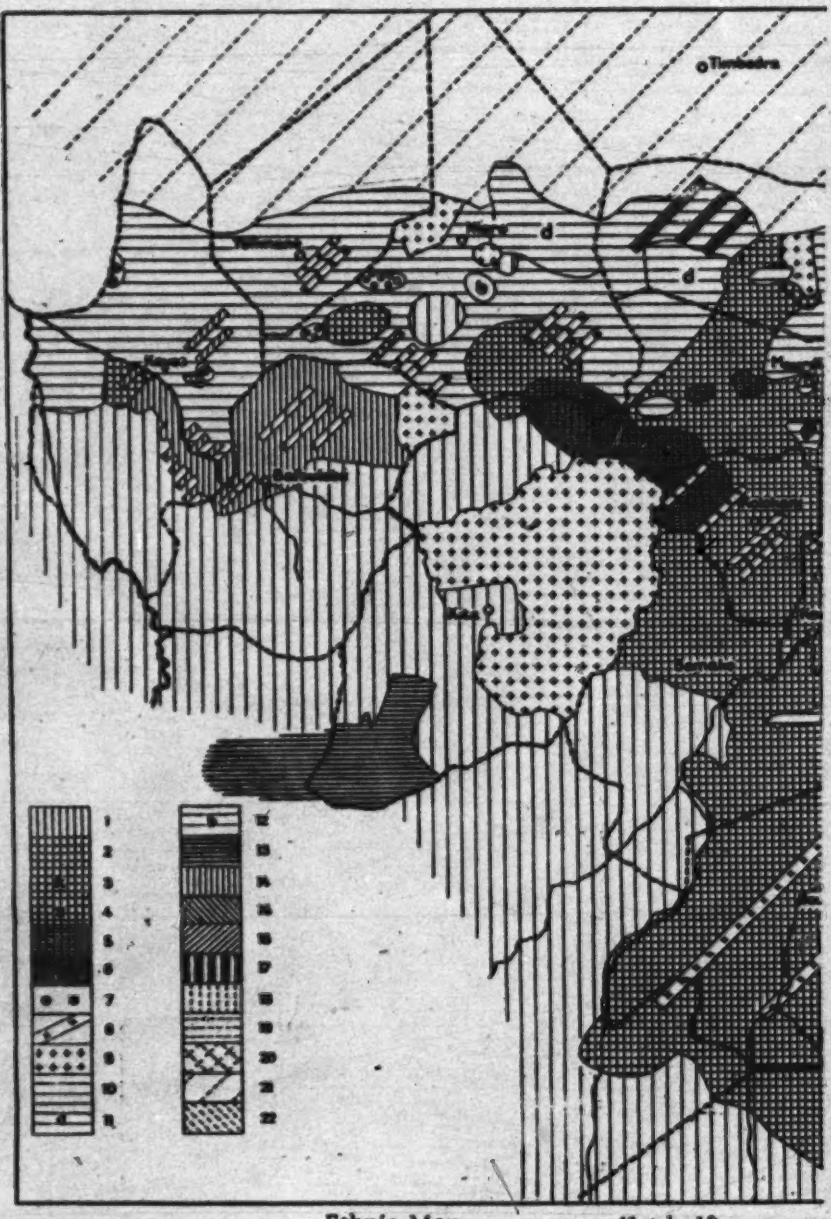

Ethnic Map (1st half)

1. Malinké. - 2. Bambara. - 3. Kalongo. - 4. Somono. - 5. Kagoro.
6. Dioula. - 7. Toucouleur. - 8. Diawambé. - 9. Peul.
10. Sarakolé (Soninké, Marka). - 11. Diawara. -- 12. Diarisso.
- - - - - Limit of subdivisions

3: Paques--151 S-4 (no date) 1954 FA8 Bambara FA8

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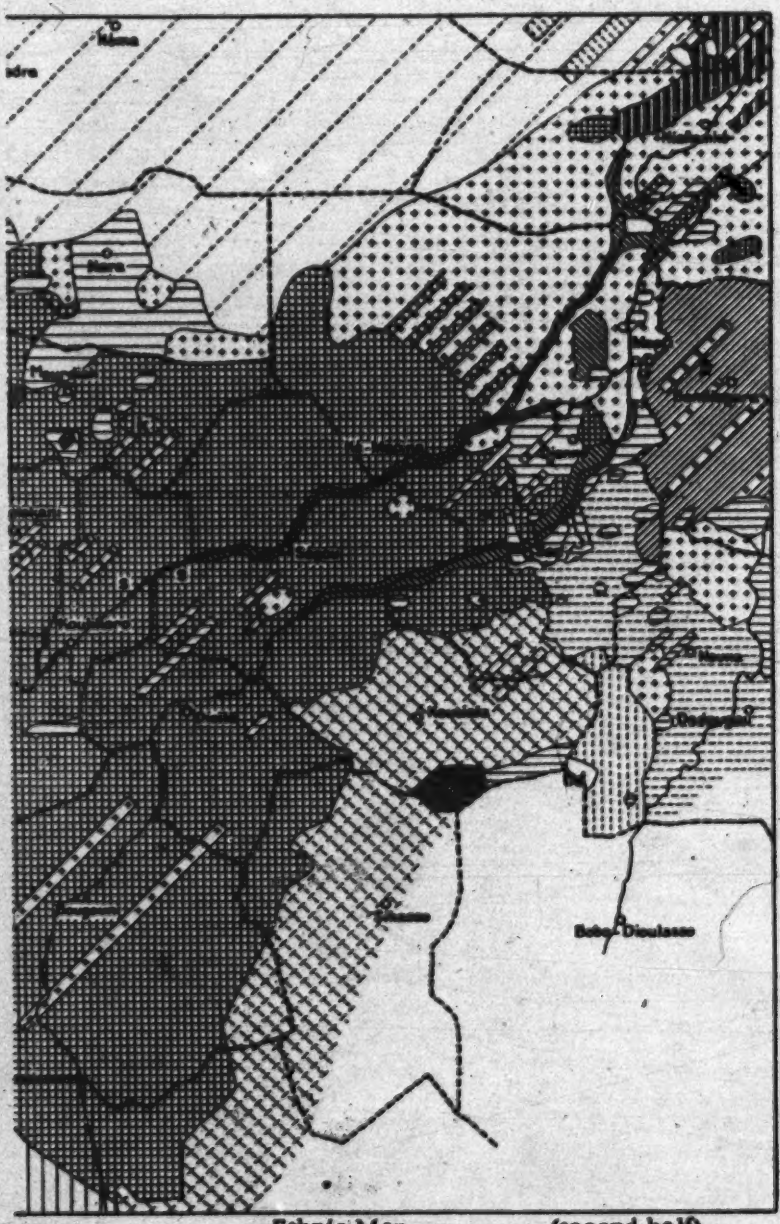

Ethnic Map (second half)

13. Diallonké. - 14. Kassonké. - 15. Bozo. - 16. Dogon. - 17. Songhaï. - 18. Bobo-Fing. - 19. Bobo-Oulé. - 20. Senoufo. - 21. Maure. - 22. Touareg.

Oblique shading indicates mixed populations.